

THE
SLAVONIC PROVINCES
SOUTH OF THE DANUBE

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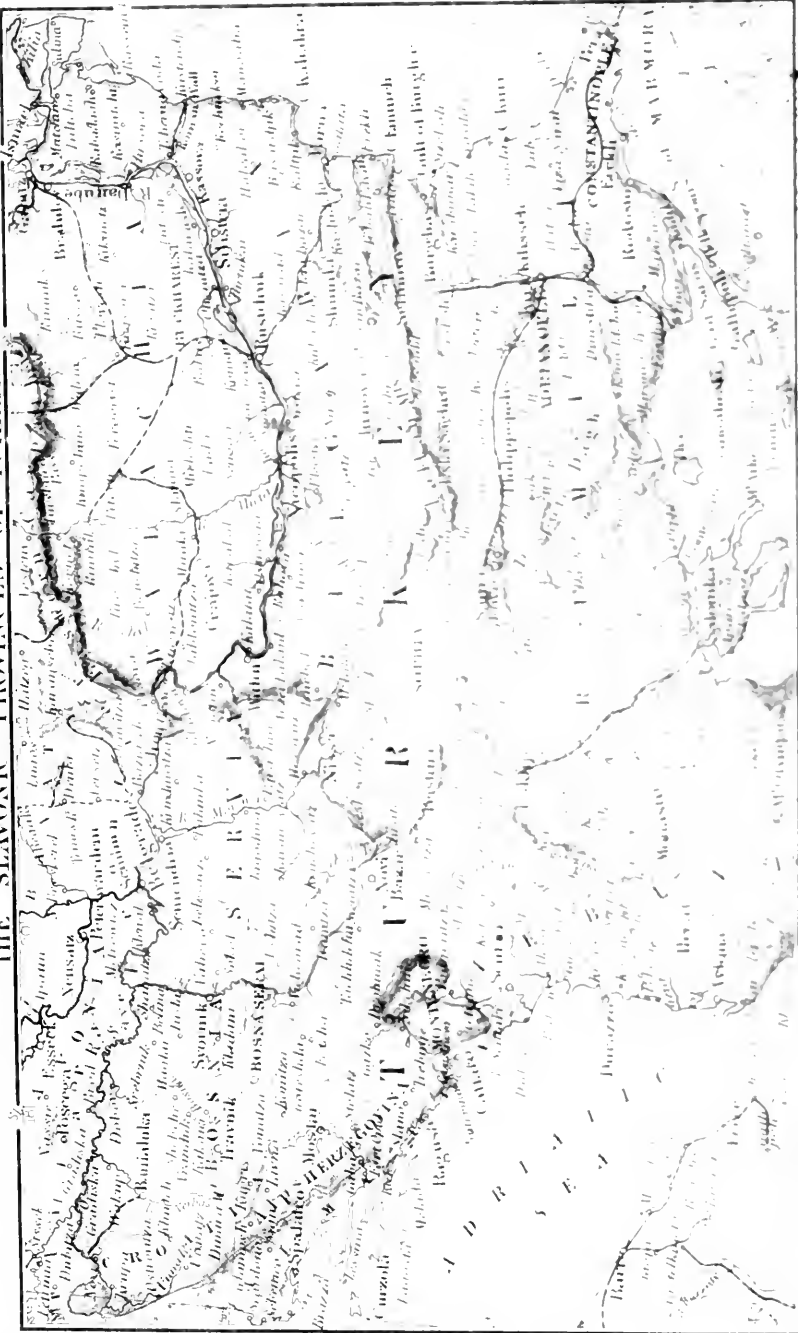




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THE SLAVONIC PROVINCES OF TURKEY



THE
SLAVONIC PROVINCES
SOUTH OF THE DANUBE.

A SKETCH OF THEIR HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE
IN RELATION TO

THE OTTOMAN PORTE.

BY

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PREFACE.

So little is really known in this country of the past history and present state of the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey, and the information to be got is scattered in so many volumes—most of them in foreign languages—that I thought it might be useful to bring the salient points within the compass of a short notice, and thus assist in forming a correct judgment upon a question, which is, by the irresistible logic of facts, forcing itself upon public attention, and which I believe is destined, if not now effectually dealt with, to be a source of ever-recurring trouble to the peace of Europe.

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I.

THE SLAVS.

I.

THE SLAVS.

By the Slavonic Provinces south of the Danube I mean Servia, Bosnia with the Herzegovina and Turkish Croatia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria.

There are other Slavonic provinces to which the same geographical definition applies, such as Croatia proper, Slavonia between the Save and the Drave, and Dalmatia; but these do not come within the scope of the present notice, for they belong exclusively to Austria, and the Ottoman Porte makes no pretensions to dominion over them.

The Danubian Provinces of the Roman Empire in the second century of the Christian era

were known under the general names of Dacia on the north of the Danube, and Mœsia, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, on the south. But the whole of this southern region was generally called Illyricum. Dacia comprised the modern provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, now known as Roumania, north of which were the vast deserts of Sarmatia or Scythia.* Mœsia, which was divided into Superior and Inferior, contained part of Bosnia, and the whole of Servia and Bulgaria. The rest of Bosnia was in Pannonia, and Montenegro is part of the ancient Illyricum or Dalmatia, the name given to the strip of coast on the eastern sea-board of the Adriatic. The whole of these provinces were known as the Illyrian frontier of the Roman dominion, and were esteemed, as Gibbon says, the most warlike of the Empire. The Dacians he calls the most

* *Saurematas gentes Scythorum Gradæ sunt, quæ Sarmatas Romani*, Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. 4, c. 11. Tacitus says of the inhabitants, *Tanta barbaries est ut faciem non intelligant*, lib. 4, c. 12.

VIA TRAJANA.

warlike of men. Dacia was conquered by Trajan after a memorable struggle of five years. It had been invaded previously by Domitian, and although he did not really subdue it, he gratified his vanity by a triumph.

The traveller, who like myself in 1869 descends the Danube, will, on entering the magnificent scenery of the Carpathian gorge, observe on the right bank of the river, about ten feet above the surface of the water, a long series of square holes in the lofty rocks of Servia, extending for nearly fifty miles, as far as the Iron Gates. For ages the origin of these holes remained a mystery, and puzzled antiquaries, many fanciful theories being suggested to account for them. But they are now ascertained beyond a doubt to be the sockets in which were inserted the wooden cross-beams upon which were laid planks to form the great military road called the *Via Trajana*, along which the Roman legions marched. It must have been a work of immense

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labour, and is one of the many proofs of the indomitable energy and engineering skill of the conquerors of the world.

Gibbon, who published the first volume of his History in 1776, says,* “ The inland parts (of “ Illyricum) have assumed the Slavonian names “ of Croatia and Bosnia; the former obeys an “ Austrian Governor, the latter a Turkish “ Pacha; but the whole country is still infested “ by tribes of barbarians, whose savage independence irregularly marks the doubtful limit of “ the Christian and Mahometan power.” This description is not applicable at the present day. The inhabitants are certainly not barbarians, and neither Croatia nor Bosnia is independent—the one belonging to Austria and the other to Turkey.

The real origin of the Slavs is lost in the darkness of antiquity. Guided, however, by philology, which is the only sure key that un-

* Decline and Fall, chap. 1.,

locks the mystery of the primeval relationship of different nations, we know that they were a great offshoot of the Aryan family of man;* and history tells us that when they appeared in Europe they dwelt or roamed in the boundless steppes of Scythia and Sarmatia before they spread westward, crossed the Danube, and overran the provinces of the Roman Empire. The name is said to be derived from *Slava*, which in the Slavonic language signifies Glory; but the people must have had a distinctive name, before by their warlike deeds they could arrogate to themselves the title of Glorious, and therefore we cannot consider it as their *original* appellation.†

* A reference to Bopp's Comparative Grammar (*Vergleichende Grammatik*) will show how intimately the Slavonic language is connected with Sanskrit, or rather is derived from it.

† Another derivation is from *Slavo*, word or speech, to distinguish the nation from the races whose language it did not understand. So the Greeks called foreign nations *Βάρβαροι*, "Barbarians," which had special reference to language. *Βαρβαρούς, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀφώνους*.—Suidas.

ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτοῖς, Βαρβαρούς ὄντας προτοῦ,
ἐδίδασκα τὴν φωνήν — Aristoph. *Aves*.

THE SLAVS.

Procopius (de Bello Gothico, iii. 14), who wrote in the sixth century, says that the Slavs were anciently called Spori, because they occupied land with tents scattered far apart. This, however, is clearly a false etymology, for Sporadic, which means "scattered," is derived from a Greek word, a language of which the Slavs then knew nothing.* He generally mentions them in connection with the Antes, a tribe whose conquest by Justinian induced the Roman emperor to add Anticus to his other titles. And Jornandes, Bishop of Ravenna, who was a contemporary of Procopius, speaks of the Slavs (Sclavini) and the Antes as the principal nations of Scythia, and as dwelling in marshes and forests instead of towns.† According to Herder,‡ they were first met with on the Don, then

* A not improbable derivation of Spori is from *S'bor*, pronounced *Sabor*, the Slavonic word for council or assembly.

† *Hi paludes jlycajpe pro civitatibus habent.*—Jornandes, De Rebus Geticis, cap. 5.

‡ Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit, Viertes Theil, p. 31.

amongst the Goths, and afterwards on the Danube, amidst the Huns and Bulgarians—preferring to obtain quiet possession of lands evacuated by the Teutonic tribes, rather than gain them by force of arms.

Slavonic writers, such as Schafarik, are fond of representing their countrymen in the olden time as a quiet inoffensive people, only too happy to be at peace with their neighbours. But there really seems to be no authority for this, and it is much like the dream of a former Golden Age—for certainly, when the Slavs first appear on the stage of History, we find them a restless, warlike, and aggressive nation.

With regard to their origin, the truth seems to be that the Slavs were an agglomeration of various tribes united by the tie of a common dialect, of which Sanscrit is the oldest known form. Their Indian or Aryan descent is shown not only by their language, but also by one or two curious customs which prevailed amongst

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them, and which no doubt they inherited from their Asiatic progenitors. One of these was the practice of *Suttee*, for their widows used to burn themselves on the funeral piles of their deceased husbands. Now, although it is true that *suttee* is not mentioned in the Vedas,* nor in their ancient commentator Menu, and hence some have inferred that widow-burning is a later innovation, it is recognized in the epic poetry of the Hindus, and was common amongst several of the Aryan nations. Another custom was the principle of undivided family, which exists in full force amongst the Hindus at the present day. “Equal division springs from the most ancient constitutional principle of the Slavs—“ that of joint and undivided family possession, “ and periodical sharing of the produce; this “ probably existed among all the Slavonian races,

* “The burning of widows was not enjoined in the Vedas, “and hence, in order to gain a sanction of it, a passage in the “Veda was falsified.”—Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workhop*, vol. iv. p. 318.

JOINT FAMILY.

“ and is still to be found in Servia, Croatia, &c.,
“ where it is the practice in some parts not even
“ to divide the land every year, but to cultivate
“ it jointly under the direction of the ‘elders,’
“ and only to share the harvests equally among
“ the elders of the commune.”* In Servia, at
the present day, there is an institution called
Zadruga, which is defined in the Servian code
to be “a community of living and property
“ founded on relationship.” The oldest living
ancestor is called *Stareschina*, and all who are
descended from him work for a common purse
under his direction and management. But the
association is voluntary, and any member is at
liberty to withdraw from it, just as in India
“separation” frequently takes place, and the
undivided family becomes divided.†

* Haxthausen’s Russian Empire, vol. i. p. 120.

† “In Servia, in Croatia, and the Austrian Slavonia, the
“villages are also brotherhoods of persons who are at once
“co-owners and kinsmen.”—Ancient Law, by Sir Henry
Maine, p. 267.

Procopius tells us that the form of government amongst the Slavonians was a democracy, and they deliberated in a public assembly.* But we are not to suppose from this that there was one assembly for the whole nation, for there were numerous subdivisions, each of which seems to have been independent of the other, and the old name for the petty chiefs was *Zupan*, the original meaning of which is “funny land.” They were as cruel as they were brave, and we learn from ancient writers with what ingenious barbarity they tortured their captives taken in war. Gibbon, in his usual style of hesitating and qualified assertion, says that the cruelties of the Slavonians are “related or magnified” by Procopius, but there seems no reason to doubt that what he tells us of them is true. A good description of their physical appearance is given by Count Krasinski, and is, in fact, an epitome of

* οὐκ ἄρχονται πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἑνὸς, *i.e.* they had no single ruler.
—Procop. de Bell. Goth. iii. 14.

THEIR DESCRIPTION.

the accounts we find in the old Greek and Latin authors.

“The ancient Slavonians are described as tall
“and of very strong make ; their complexion
“was not very white, and their hair was of a
“reddish colour. They could easily support
“hunger, thirst, heat, cold and want of covering,
“and were dirty in their habits. They lived in
“miserable huts, and they often changed their
“place of abode. They went into battle without
“shirt or cloak, and their only covering was a
“pair of short trousers.”*

In the great Slavonic overflow that rushed like a torrent over part of Europe, some portions of the race spread themselves through the passes of the Carpathian Mountains to the west and north as far as Poland and Pomerania, and the Czechs of Bohemia are part of the same nation

* Quoted by Sir G. Wilkinson in his “Dalmatia and Montenegro,” vol. i. p. 34. Except as regards the trousers the description might apply to the Highlanders of former days.

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that settled in the countries on the south of the Danube. The total amount of the Slavonic population in Europe now, is estimated at not less than eighty millions.* This is a fact with which Europe will one day have to reckon. They are scattered over the continent, and in some parts so intermixed with other races that it is difficult to distinguish them. The only geographical division which has obtained or kept the original name of the nation is Slavonia, the country between the Save and the Drave, both affluents of the Danube, and which belongs to Austria.

It is to the southern immigration of the race that I shall confine myself in the following notice.

* Deutsches Staats Wörterbuch. Die Slaven, Band ix.

II.

SERVIA.

II.

SERVIA.

SERVIA ought to be pronounced Serbia. The softening of the *b* into *v* is suggestive of a wrong etymology, as if it had some connection with the Latin word *Servus*.* But inveterate habit has taught us to speak of Servia, and so it is written in all the Consular Reports received at the

* And yet the word “slave” is supposed to be derived from the Slavs, and to have originated in the eighth century in the eastern part of France, where the princes and bishops had many Slavonian captives. “From the Euxine to the Adriatic, in the state of captives or subjects, or allies or enemies, of the Greek Empire, they (the Slavonians) overspread the land; and the national appellation of the *Slaves* has been degraded by chance or malice from the signification of glory (*flava*, laus, gloria) to that of servitude.”—Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. 55. The old Slavonic word for *slave* is *rab*.

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Foreign Office.* I shall therefore use the word Serbia, although under protest.

The most powerful Slavonic tribe that crossed the Danube and settled itself on the south of that river was the S'rbi or Serbi, sometimes written S'rbli. Their name seems to have been applied in old times very generally to the whole Slavonic people. This immigration was in the seventh century. At that time the savage hordes of the Tartar Avars had devastated the northern provinces of the Greek Empire, and settled themselves in Macedonia. The Serbs were invited by the Emperor Heraclius to come and expel these intruders, and when they had done this, they soon afterwards marched northwards and spread themselves over the country now known as Bulgaria, Serbia, and Bosnia, great part of which had previously been occupied by

* The proper name of Serbia is S'rbia, and the Servians are in Slavonic S'rbs; but the necessity of pronunciation compels us to insert the *e*, just as we are obliged to turn the Slavonic word *S'bor*, council or assembly, into *Sabor*.

CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY.

the Getæ and Triballi. Gradually they extended their possessions both west and south, and the Servian historian, Davidovitch, enumerates thirteen territories now known under distinct names which were once under the dominion of his countrymen.* According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus the Servian people embraced Christianity in the reign of the Emperor Heraclius, but it is believed that their conversion took place at a later epoch. We know that the Scriptures were translated into the Slavonic tongue by St. Cyril and Methodius some time in the ninth century, and this is still the sacred language of the Slavonic nations which are members of the Greek Church. The Serbs were governed by chiefs called Zupans, and it was not for some time that these submitted to the authority of a single ruler called Veliki or Grand Zupan. Indeed it is not clear that at first the Grand Zupan was more than *primus inter pares*,

* Les Serbes en Turquie, par Ubcini, pp. 24, 25.

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and in the old Slavonic language he was called *Starješina* or Senior, and had his residence at Deštinika on the Drina, which separates Servia from Bosnia. In the tenth century the Zupan of Dioclea raised himself to the chief power. In the meantime the Servians acknowledged the supremacy of the Greek Empire, but made it a condition that they should remain under the rule of their own Zupans, who were elected by the free choice of the people. They were long engaged in bloody struggles with their neighbours, and in the year 924 the Bulgarians who occupied the territory to the east, and of whom I shall speak more particularly hereafter, invaded Servia and completely conquered it. Many of the Servian nobles were sent as hostages into Bulgaria, and a great part of the population was transplanted there, while the land was ravaged and laid waste by the Bulgarian hordes.* This was while Symeon was ruler of Bulgaria, but

* Schafarik, *Slavische Alterthümer*, ii. 31.

after his death the Servians, with the help of the Greek Emperor, recovered the territory they had lost, and their Grand Zupan Tchefflav renewed his homage to the Greek Court. This feudal relationship became complete dependence after the overthrow of the Bulgarian kingdom by the Emperor Basil II. in 1018, and Servia was treated as a province of the Greek Empire. But in 1040-43 Stephan Bogislaw, who had been imprisoned at Constantinople, effected his escape, and returning to his native country expelled the Greek governor and restored Servia to a state of independence. And when in 1043 the Greek Emperor Constantine Monomachus sent a powerful army to attempt the conquest of Servia, it was met by the Servians in the mountains, and annihilated in their impassable defiles. Bogislaw's son and successor Michael took the title of king or *kral* of the Servians, and as such was acknowledged by Pope Gregory VII. (1073-78).

We need not follow in detail the obscure

history of the Servians and their struggles with the Greek Empire, but come at once to Stephan Nemandia, Zupan of Rascia, who was raised to the throne in 1165, and became the founder of a powerful dynasty, the seat of whose government was at Rascia, now Novi Bazar. He was of the family of the Zupans of Dioclea, and ruled for thirty-six years with vigour and success, considerably enlarging the extent of his dominions. At last he abdicated the throne and became a monk, dying in a monastery of Mount Athos, in the year 1200.

He was succeeded by his son Stephan, who was surnamed *Pervovenšani*, "first-crowned king," although, as we have seen, the kingly title had been assumed by earlier rulers; and the crown was worn by successive members of the Nemandia family until it came to Stephan Dūshan (1336-1358), under whom the Servian Principality or kingdom rose to its greatest height of power, and embraced the largest extent of terri-

tory—including not only Servia proper, but Macedonia, Theffaly, and Albania, and also Bulgaria.* With him, says Schafarik, the certain history of Servia begins.† With the assent of the *Sabor*—an assembly of the principal chiefs, which, on special occasions, formed the Parliament of old Servia, he assumed the title of Czar.

In his reign (1349) a code of laws was enacted in an assembly at which were present “the Patriarch, the Metropolitans and the “Bishops, the Czar, the *Knieszes* or *Knees*, and “the greater and lesser governors of the “empire.” These laws consisted of 105 articles, and it may be interesting to cite a few of them.

They provided for the maintenance of Christian

* Schafarik, *Slavische Alterthümer*, ii. 32.

† Ranke (History of Servia) says, “A complete and authentic “History of Servia cannot be expected until writings, such as “Domitian’s Life of St. Simeon and St. Sava, and the Rodoslaw “of the Archbishop Danien and his successors, are published, and “with a correct text.”

worship and the extirpation of heresy. Converts to the Latin Church, on refusal to return to the orthodox faith, were to be punished with death. No layman was to act as a judge in ecclesiastical affairs. The Church alone was to decide in Church matters. Church property was not to be alienated. The Churches were not to be subordinate to the Great Church (of Constantinople). A nobleman who affronted the honour of another nobleman was to pay a fine. But a mere gentleman who did so was in addition to be flogged. A nobleman who violated a married woman was to have his hands and nose cut off. The adultery of a married woman was punished by the loss of her ears and nose. A nobleman not invited to a repast was not to intrude himself by force; but if invited he was to be punctual, or he was guilty of an offence. All meetings of peasants were forbidden under the penalty of mutilation of ears and branding. Disputes between different villages were to be

settled by an appeal to the Czar. The burning of corpses was forbidden. Wilful murder was punished with loss of hands, but if the murdered man was one of the clergy, with death. Parricides and infanticides were to be burnt. Whole neighbourhoods were made responsible for theft. Brigands and robbers were to be hanged. Advocates in courts of justice were not to calumniate their opponents. Judges were to deliver written judgments, and give copies to the parties. Drunkenness was severely punished: drunkards who made a riot or committed an assault were to have their eyes torn out and one of their hands cut off. A widow was not to marry again until a decent period of mourning for her former husband had elapsed. The wife of a foldier engaged in war was to wait ten years, unless she had written news of his death, before she could contract another marriage.

Stephan Dūshan assumed the proud title of Czar of the Serbs and Greeks, and even aspired

to the throne of Constantinople itself. In the contest for the imperial purple between John Palæologus and John Cantacuzene, the latter had invoked and obtained the aid of Stephan. The Servian ruler was at this time a powerful monarch, and he made it a condition of his alliance that whatever towns were taken should have the liberty of choosing either himself or Cantacuzene as their sovereign. Gibbon does not mention this stipulation, but he describes the attitude of the two monarchs. “The *Cral* or
 “despot of the Servians received him (Cantacuzene) with generous hospitality; but the ally
 “was insensibly degraded to a suppliant, a hostage,
 “a captive; and in this miserable dependence
 “he waited at the door of the barbarian, who
 “could dispose of the life and liberty of a Roman
 “Emperor.”* The ill-assorted alliance, however, did not last long. Jealousies broke out, and Cantacuzene mistrusting Stephan sought for

* Decline and Fall, chap. 63.

other support. He called to his aid the Ofmanli Turks, who had invaded Asia Minor, but had not yet crossed the Bosphorus. Thus came about "the passage of the Ottomans into Europe" —the last and fatal stroke in the fall of the "Roman Empire." *

Stephan Dūshan seems to have been a true "Ἀναξ ἄνδρων, leader of men, tall of stature, and of commanding presence. Gibbon is quite wrong in calling him a barbarian. He overran nearly the whole of what is now called Turkey in Europe, and besieged the Emperor Andronicus in Thessalonica, compelling him to cede Macedonia. Afterwards he turned his arms northwards, and defeated Louis, King of Hungary, in several battles. Having quarrelled with Cantacuzene, as I have already mentioned, he marched upon Constantinople at the head of a large army, but was seized with fever at Devoli and died there in 1358.

* Decline and Fall, chap. 63.

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He was succeeded by his son Urosh, who was murdered by one of the Servian chiefs, and he was the last of the Nemandia dynasty in the direct line. On his death in 1357, the people chose, or the crown devolved upon, Lazar, who was related to the Nemandia family, and he became king or *Cral* of Servia. The memory of none of their rulers lingers more fondly in the hearts and songs of the people than that of this unfortunate prince. He was brave and just and generous, but fortune hardly ever smiled upon his arms. In a contest with the Hungarians he was defeated and deprived of the royal title, and was obliged to content himself with the inferior dignity of *Knes*. And when, in 1389, the Sultan Amurath I. invaded Servia, he had to fight a last desperate battle for the independence of his country.

Alarmed at the rapid approach of the Turks, Lazar looked round for help, and appealed to the rulers of Bosnia, Hungary, and even

BATTLE OF KÓSSOVO.

Poland to aid him in the struggle. But no effective assistance came, and he had to bear the brunt of the storm almost alone. The two armies met in the Plain of Kóssovo, and the Servians were utterly defeated. Lazar fell in the battle, but at the same moment, or indeed just before, the Sultan Amurath perished by the hand of an assassin. Milosch Obilitch, one of Lazar's sons-in-law, had been suspected of being in secret intelligence with the Turks, and on the eve of the battle, at a banquet given to the Servian chiefs, the Czar offered a goblet to Milosch, and said that he drank to the success of his schemes, even if next day he should betray him to the Sultan. Stung by the sarcasm, Milosch drained the cup and swore that he would show whether he could prove traitor to his religion and his king. Next morning he went to the Turkish camp, and being conducted to the tent of the Sultan, knelt before him : then suddenly rising he plunged a dagger in

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his heart, and as he rushed out of the tent he was seized by the guards and cut to pieces, after a desperate resistance.

Kóffovo was the Flodden Field of Servia, but the battle there was more disastrous in its consequences to her than that of Flodden Field was to Scotland, for it was the first step to the absolute supremacy of the Turks.

Bajazet, who succeeded Amurath on the Ottoman throne, divided Servia between Stephan, the son, and Vuk Brankovitch, the son-in-law of Lazar, both of whom bound themselves to pay tribute to the Sultan, and furnish troops for the military service of the Sublime Porte. Brankovitch died of poison in 1396, and the chief power in Servia became again vested in a single chief of the old reigning family, who was allowed by the Turks to retain the title of Kral or Despot, although really a vassal of the Sultan.

In the 15th century a powerful confederacy was formed under the King of Hungary to roll

back the tide of Ottoman conquest, and it was joined by the Servians, whose ruler then was George Brankovitch. The Turks were compelled to retreat after many obstinate conflicts, and by the Peace or Treaty of Szegedin (July, 1444) they relinquished their hold of Servia, and restored it to its independence. But after the death of Brankovitch internal dissensions on the questions of the rival pretensions of the Latin and Greek Churches again opened the door to the admission of the Ottomans. They were invited to occupy the fortresses, and soon became masters of the country. During the long war between the Hungarians and the Ottomans, Servia suffered terribly. They were crushed down by the Turks, who had taken Constantinople in 1453, and are described by a traveller of the 16th century as "poor captives, none of whom dared to lift up his head."* But Austria and the Germans came to the rescue of

* Ranke's History of Servia, chap. 2.

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Hungary, and the Servians joined the alliance. The result was that the Cross triumphed over the Crescent, and, owing to the brilliant victories of Prince Eugene, the Peace of Passarowitz was signed in 1718, by which Servia, or at least the northern part of it, was delivered from the Turks, and acknowledged the supremacy of Austria. But again the scene shifted, and in twenty years the complication of European politics placed Servia once more under the dominion of the Ottoman Porte. It then became to all intents and purposes a Turkish province, and until the period of their ultimate deliverance, which I shall narrate hereafter, the Christian inhabitants of Servia, like all the other Rayas in the Ottoman kingdom, became “hewers of wood and “drawers of water” to their infidel masters. They were domineered over by Turkish Beks under a Turkish Pacha, had to render heavy feudal services, and pay a poll-tax for every male from the age of seven years. Justice was

administered by Mussulman Kadis, whose pay came chiefly from the Rayas, that is the Christian inhabitants. The Bishops received their insignia of office from the Sultan, and to maintain their dignity were not backward in fleecing their flocks. The Rayas were excluded from all share in the conduct of public affairs, and were in fact treated as Serfs, “as the means where-
“with to realize a revenue for the support of
“the State which had subjugated them, and of
“providing for its soldiery, its officers, and
“even for the Court.”* No Servian dared to ride into a town on horseback, and to any Turk, who might demand it, he was bound to render personal service. If he met a Turk in the road, he was obliged to halt and make way for him, and if he carried arms as a defence against robbers, he had to conceal them. “To suffer
“injuries was his duty; to resent them was
“deemed a crime worthy of punishment.”

* Ranke, chap. iii.

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“The Rayas were considered a weaponless herd,
“whose duty was obedience and subjection.”

The oppression of the Turks naturally produced resistance, and numbers of the male population of Servia, rather than submit to their extortions, abandoned their homes, and, taking refuge in the forests, became outlaws and brigands. These are the Haiduks so often mentioned in Servian history, who waylaid the Spahis and other Turks in ambuscades, and robbed and murdered them whenever they had the opportunity.

By the Peace or Treaty of Belgrade in 1739, Belgrade, which had been occupied by Austria, was restored to the Porte, and by Art. 3 of the Treaty, “His Imperial Majesty cedes to the
“Ottoman Porte the Province of Servia, and
“the limits of the two Empires shall be the
“Danube and the Save.”*

But the time of deliverance came at last. In

* Wenck. Codex Juris Gentium, vol. 1, p. 316, *et seq.*

THE JANISSARIES.

1788, Russia and Austria combined in war against the Sublime Porte, and the Servians rendered the two Christian Powers active assistance. A volunteer corps was formed, which did good service at the siege of Belgrade in 1789, and next year carried Kruschewatz by storm. Serbia, in fact, was practically re-conquered from the Turks ; but the old jealousies between the European Powers on the question of the dismemberment of Turkey and aggrandizement of any of them at her expense, were for the moment fatal to her cause. Peace was made with Turkey in 1791, and Serbia was given back to the Sultan. The only stipulation made in favour of the inhabitants was, that an amnesty should be granted to all who had taken part in the revolt.

But the inveterate misgovernment went on as before, and this was met by disturbance and partial insurrections. It would take too long to tell the story of the Janissaries and their

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hostile relations with the Sultan, whose soldiers they were, but who dreaded them as much as any of the Roman Emperors dreaded their Prætorian guards. Let it suffice to say that in Servia as elsewhere they set the orders from Constantinople at defiance, and some of them became mere brigands under chiefs called Dahis, who practised every kind of outrage against the Christian Rayas.

In 1804 a terrible massacre of these took place. The Dahis spared neither rank nor age. The first victim was Prince Stanoï, and every Servian of reputation who could be got at was pitilessly murdered. The inhabitants fled to the mountains, and when the Turks approached the villages they found them tenanted only by old men and children. The cruelties of their oppressors at last roused the people to resistance, and leaders were found in three brave men, George Pétrovitch, better known afterwards as Kara George or "Black George," Janko

Kalitsch, and Vaffo Tſcharapitch. The Turks were everywhere attacked, and compelled to take refuge in their fortresses. Black George, who had been a mere peasant, received the chief command, and a long and bloody struggle ensued. The Janissaries held Belgrade, which was attacked by the insurgents, and they found unexpected assistance in the policy of the Ottoman Porte itself. That policy was to cripple the power of those formidable foldiers, and the Grand Vizier made use of the revolt for the purpose. Békir, the Pacha of Bosnia, was ordered to interfere, not as the enemy but rather as the friend of the Servians. When he entered the country at the head of 3,000 men, he was received by them with every mark of honour and respect. The commandant at Belgrade did not dare to disobey the direct orders of the Sultan, and on the summons of the Bosnian Pacha, the gates of the fortress were thrown open. The garrison in the meantime made its escape by

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embarking on the Danube and taking refuge in Orschova. But here the Servians effected an entrance, and several of the most obnoxious of their enemies were put to the sword. After this Békir declared that all was finished, and he assured the Servians that they might return peaceably to their occupations.

But, although tranquillity was thus restored for a time, the causes of discontent lay too deep for cure so long as the yoke of Ottoman despotism pressed upon the necks of the Rayas. The old system remained in force—inult and outrage on the part of the Turks, and humiliation and suffering on the part of the Servians. Again the flame of revolt against misrule was kindled, and encouraged by the sympathy which Russia had shown for her Slavonic brethren in Moldavia and Wallachia on the other side of the Danube, the Servians invoked the protection of the Russian Czar. Their appeal was favourably received, and negotiations for a peaceful settle-

ment of their grievances were set on foot, but the Porte was staggered by one of their demands, which was that all the fortresses in Servia should be placed in their hands. The Servians, however, were determined at all hazards to secure these important places, and, while the negotiations were still pending, Kara George appeared at the head of a body of troops before Karanovitz, and, after an attack which in the first instance failed, succeeded in getting possession of the place. Other fortresses were taken or surrendered by the Turks, and Servia was now in a state of open war against her oppressors.

While the war against Napoleon was raging over the continent of Europe, Turkey, in 1807, joined the side of France, and declared war against Russia. Servia naturally sided with a Christian Power of which a great part of the population is Slavonic, and aided Russia as she best could in the struggle. In the campaign of 1809-10 Kara

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George was hard pressed by the Turks, and they would probably have been victorious had not the opportune arrival of a Russian army, which crossed the Danube in August, 1809, changed the face of affairs. The Turks were again compelled to quit their hold of Serbia, and she was able to deliberate on the course of policy which it was most for her interest to adopt. Perfect independence in so small a state midst the clashing arms of mighty kingdoms seemed practically impossible, and Kara George at first wished to place the country under the protectorate of Austria. But Russian influence prevailed, and no definitive step was taken before the campaign of 1810 opened. The Russian General, Kamenskoï, addressed a proclamation to the Serbians, in which he called them "brothers of the "Russians, children of the same family and the "same faith," and they heartily responded to his appeal. The Turks again entered Serbia; the former struggle was renewed and lasted until

October in that year, when the Turks, having been worsted in a desperate conflict near Lofnitz, recrossed the Drina into Bosnia, and an armistice was agreed upon, by which that river was made the frontier line which neither army was to pass.

Dissensions, however, between the Servian chiefs now broke out afresh, and threatened a dissolution of the government—but the result was that the authority of Kara George became stronger than ever, and he was from that time practically King or Despot of Servia.

But the little State had not been recognised as independent by any of the Great Powers, and she was still in theory the vassal of the Ottoman Porte, and in the treaty of peace which was signed between Russia and Turkey at Bucharest in 1812, Servia is mentioned as subject and tributary to the Sultan. It was therein stipulated that the Servian fortresses should be garrisoned by Turkish troops, but the internal government of the country was to be left to themselves on

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payment of a tribute to the Porte—and promises were made of security and privileges, which long experience has shown to be utterly worthless when made by Turks to Christians under their control.

So long as part of the Russian army remained in Servia, the inhabitants might confidently rely upon the stipulations of the treaty being observed, but Russia had now to struggle for her own existence against French aggression, and all her forces were withdrawn to the north. The Russian regiment quartered at Belgrade quitted the country, and Servia was left alone to be trampled under the heel of her hereditary oppressors.

The inhabitants were ordered to deliver up not only their fortresses, but their arms; and on their refusal, Turkish troops began to assemble on the Servian frontier. No longer deterred by fear of Russia, whose power they thought had received a fatal blow at the battle

of Lutzen, the Ottoman Porte once more recommenced a Servian war. Never were the fortunes of Servia darker than during this campaign. The Turks victoriously advanced, and at last when they crossed the Morawa river, Kara George, having first buried his treasure, fled across the Danube, and took refuge in Austrian territory, where he was soon followed by the Servian Senators. The whole country was now defenceless, and the Turks took possession of Belgrade without resistance.

There was, however, one man whose fortitude did not fail him in this hour of extreme peril. This was Milosch Obrenovich, who in early youth had herded swine in the Servian forests. He had become a Voivode, but did not, like the other Voivodes, abandon Servia. When urged to fly he nobly said, "No! whatever may be the fate of my fellow-countrymen shall be mine also." At first the Turks tried the policy of conciliation, and induced Milosch, who

had neither the means nor the power to make an effectual resistance, to submit to their authority.

He and other chiefs became reconciled to the Porte, and he received from it a confirmation of his dignity as Grand Knes of Rudnik.

But, as Ranke says, the Turks having recovered possession of the country by hostile invasion, governed as they thought fit. In other words, their rule was as oppressive as ever, and taking advantage of a partial attempt at insurrection, in the autumn of 1814, Soliman Pacha caused 150 of those who had been engaged in it to be carried to Belgrade and there beheaded. Others were impaled alive. Some were bound hand and foot, and suspended by the extremities, with heavy stones hung from the middle of their bodies. Some were flogged to death; others roasted alive on spits. In answer to all remonstrances, the Pacha said that he was still far from acting up to his instructions from

INSURRECTION.

the Porte, that in fact he was sparing the country! These atrocities changed the conduct of Milosch. He felt that his own life was no longer safe, and the miseries of his countrymen were at their full. They were ready to hazard everything rather than endure the continued curse of Turkish tyranny, and after a short period of secret organisation, Milosch came forward as their leader and hoisted the standard of insurrection.

On Palm Sunday 1815 he appeared in the midst of an assembly at Zrnutscha, fully armed and with the banner of a Voivode in his hand, crying out: "Here am I! and now war against the Turks is begun!" The revolt spread rapidly, and was as rapidly successful. In general the Turks made a poor resistance, and hastily retreated from the open ground, sheltering themselves in their fortifications. Several of these were taken or abandoned, and the strong entrenchment of Poscherawatz was carried after

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a fierce struggle. The Bosnian Pacha, Ali, who came to the assistance of his countrymen, was defeated by Milosch and taken prisoner. But notwithstanding these successes, the fate of Servia hung trembling in the balance. The principal fortresses were still held by the Turks, and two formidable Turkish armies, were on the march to crush the insurrection, when happily peaceful counsels prevailed at Constantinople and the war ended without further bloodshed.

Deputies from Servia appeared at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, but little attention was paid to their complaints and earnest prayers for recognition and help. But the two Turkish armies that were advancing against Servia halted on their march, owing to orders from Constantinople, and negotiations were opened with a view to peace. Milosch ventured to trust himself in the Turkish lines, but when he found one of the demands was that the Servian population should not be allowed to retain their arms, he

ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF SUBJECTION.

inflexibly refused, and left the camp. Soon afterwards, however, the commander of the Turkish army on the Bosnian frontier, withdrew the obnoxious stipulation, saying, “only
“be submissive to the Grand Signor, and you
“may carry as many pistols in your belts as
“you please—cannon even, for what I care!”
The result was that the Servians allowed the Turks to occupy Belgrade, and there Milosch, in a solemn conference, on being asked by the Pacha, “Are ye Servians subject to the Grand
“Signor?” answered “We are subject to him.”
The question and answer were repeated thrice.

The fortresses of Servia were now garrisoned by the Turks with the consent of the inhabitants, and an Embassy was sent to Constantinople to regulate the terms on which the country was in future to be governed. In the meantime “the
“haughty insolence of the Ottomans displayed
“itself in the rudest and most offensive conduct.”*

* Ranke, Hist. of Servia, chap. xviii.

But dissensions broke out again amongst the Servian chiefs themselves. They were jealous of the authority of Milosch, and tried to thwart his influence. Kara George had returned to Servia, and a league called the *Hetaira* (not confined to Servia alone), was formed, the members of which swore to fight with the enemies of their country until they were annihilated. Kara George placed himself at the head of this league, and invited Milosch to join and renew the struggle for independence. But Milosch refused to do this, and denounced Kara George to the Pacha, who told him to bring him his head. Milosch issued his orders, or at all events indicated where Kara George was to be found, and he was basely murdered while he was asleep. This great crime left Milosch without any dangerous rival, and in November 1817 he was acknowledged by the Servians Supreme *Knes* or Ruler of the whole of Servia.

Matters remained in an unsettled state as

ARREST OF SERVIAN DEPUTIES.

regards the relations of Servia to the Ottoman Porte until 1820, when a Firman was sent from Constantinople specifying the concessions which the Sultan had resolved to grant. The authority of the Mussulmans was to be restricted to the fortresses, and Milofch was recognised as the Grand Knes of Servia. A fixed tribute was also substituted for the former varying amount. But there were other conditions which were strongly unpalatable to the Servians. They were to remain "Imperial Rayas" as their forefathers had been, they were to provide for the Turkish armies whenever they might happen to pass through the country, and they were required formally to promise that they would never again demand anything more from the Grand Seigneur. They therefore refused to accept the terms, and an embassy was sent to Constantinople to present the demands which would satisfy the nation. The deputies however when they reached the capital were put under arrest,

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and, that he might not be compromised by any agreement they might make while under duress Milofsch withdrew his credentials from them.

The Greek revolution now broke out and materially changed the attitude of the Great Powers, and especially of Russia, towards the Ottoman Porte and her vassal states. Russia determined to exact a literal fulfilment of the Treaty of Bucharest, which in some respects had remained in abeyance for several years. The Sultan, terrified at the aspect of affairs, and threatened by the three Great Powers, England, France and Russia, did not dare to resist, and having first set at liberty the Servian deputies who had been still detained at Constantinople, he promised to enter into negotiations with the Servian people, for securing to it all the privileges conceded by the Treaty of Bucharest. The result was that, by the Convention of Ackerman in October, 1826, Servia was erected

into a Principality tributary to the Porte, but with an independent internal administration.

But the Ottoman Porte could only be trusted so far as it was coerced by fear, and it began to play its old game of fast and loose. In a *hatti-sheriff* issued in December, 1827, the Sultan made the ominous declaration that he had yielded to the demands of the Servians only from the pressure of circumstances, and that he had entered into the Convention of Ackerman only to gain the time necessary to prepare for war. And war began in earnest between Russia and the Porte, and was continued until the victorious flag of Russia was carried across the Balkan, when, to avert the capture of Constantinople, the Ottoman Porte gave way, and consented to the terms imposed upon her. She agreed to recognise Greece as an independent kingdom, and by the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829, the Sultan pledged himself to perform the stipulations of the Conference of Ackerman with reference to

Servia “without the least delay, and with the
“most conscientious exactness.”

In conformity with that Treaty, the Porte
issued on the 1st of October, 1829, a *hatti-
sheriff* which provided amongst other things
that the Servians “might freely exercise in their
“country their mode of worship, and follow
“their own religion ; that the administration
“of the internal affairs of their country might
“be under their own authority, and that the dif-
“ferent kinds of taxes, revenues, and capitation
“duties might be all consolidated and fixed into
“one sum.” Moreover, the important stipula-
tion was added, that “the Mussulmans or Turks,
“except those who are to guard the castles,
“should be prohibited to reside in Servia.” *

And in 1830 a Firman was granted by the

* See Hertlet's Map of Europe by Treaty, 1814-1875, vol. ii.
p. 833. When Lord Ponsonby, on behalf of Great Britain, sug-
gested certain modifications, the Sultan refused to recognise any
right in Great Britain to interfere in the affairs of Servia,
but admitted the right of Russia under her treaties with the
Porte.

RECOGNITION OF MILOSCH.

Sultan, by which he formally recognised Milosch Obrenovich as "Prince of Servia," and decreed that the dignity should be hereditary in his family. He also solemnly promised that the Sublime Porte would not interfere, in any manner whatever, either in the internal administration or in the affairs of the country; and that it should not be allowed to "exact a single *para* "beyond the usual tribute."* Another concession was that, "with the exception of the Imperial fortresses which anciently existed in "Servia, all those that have been erected lately "shall be demolished." But it was stipulated that when the dignity of Prince of Servia became vacant, the new Prince should pay the sum of 100,000 piastras when he received from the Sublime Porte "the noble *Berat* of investiture." This assertion of sovereignty was more explicitly made in a subsequent Firman granted in 1833, one of the articles of which provided that "neither you

* Ibid. p. 843.

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“ (the Prince) nor the Servian nation shall ever act
“ in any manner whatever contrary to the duties
“ of faithful subjects, nor contrary to the sub-
“ mission which you owe to the Sublime Porte.”*

The recognition of Milosch as Prince of Servia was in accordance with a solemn resolution of the *Skoupshina*, or General Assembly, and the wish of the whole Servian nation. He thus became the undisputed Ruler of Servia, and the founder of a new dynasty, although he could neither read nor write!

His government was severe and harsh, and practically absolute, and he had to put down more than one attempt at insurrection against his authority. “He exercised,” says Ranke, “the
“ power of life and death as despotically and as
“ unscrupulously as any Turkish Pacha.” But he had the good sense to see that tyranny only aggravates discontent, and in 1835 he granted

* See Hertlet's Map of Europe by Treaty, 1814-1875, vol. ii. p. 933.

a Constitutional Charter to Servia, which, under the name of the Servian Code, for the time satisfied the people.

Still, however, Milofch governed in an arbitrary manner, and many acts of injustice, and even cruelty, are recorded of him, which made him very unpopular. "At last," says Ranke, "as the outrages of which the Knes was "accused were flagrant and undeniable," an urgent warning was given by the Court of St. Petersburg to Milofch to act with more justice and humanity. Servian deputies also went to Constantinople, and laid their grievances before the Sultan, and the result was that a new Constitutional Charter was framed, limiting the power of Milofch, and increasing the power of the Senate, whose members, seventeen in number, were, however, to be appointed by the Prince for life. This was in 1839. Milofch met the change with fullen opposition; and amongst the peasantry, with whom he was more

popular than in the towns, he fostered a spirit of resistance to the new charter, which broke out in some places into violence. He was strongly opposed by many of the chiefs, and one of them, named *Wutschitsk*, who was appointed to the military command against the insurgents, having compelled a large body of them to surrender, took Milosch's brother Jovan prisoner while he was endeavouring to collect a fresh band of adherents to support, as he said, the authority of his brother the Prince. The Senate, therefore, determined to depose Milosch, and his residence at Belgrade having been surrounded with troops, he, on the 13th of June, 1839, signed a formal instrument of abdication in favour of his eldest son Milan. But Milan at the time was in bad health, and he soon afterwards died, without, it is said, having ever known that he was Prince of Servia.

Michael, his younger brother, was alive, but his name was not in the line of succession which

had been guaranteed by the Porte. The Senate, therefore, determined to ask the Sultan to sanction Michael's appointment to the vacant throne, and the request was granted.

The rule of Michael was a disturbed one, and he had to contend against a strong opposition, supported by the partisans of Milosch. The Turks took advantage of the difficulty, and became more pressing in obnoxious demands. At last, hearing that a *Skoupschina* was about to be held in order to compel him to change his administration, Michael took the field, and advanced against the malcontents, who were already in arms, under the command of *Wutshitsk*. A parley was agreed upon, but Michael refused to consent to the conditions which were offered. He was deserted by his soldiers, and at last abandoned Servia, and took refuge across the Austrian frontier, while *Wutshitsk* entered Belgrade in triumph, and, styling himself "Leader of the Nation," assumed the chief authority.

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A Provisional Government was formed, and a *Skoupschina* summoned in September, 1842, to determine who should be Ruler of Servia. With one voice they declared that they would not have Michael, and with equal unanimity they declared in favour of Alexander Kara Georgevich, the son of their former favourite leader Kara George, or Black George. Their choice was confirmed by the Porte, but Russia refused to acknowledge the change of dynasty—at all events, not unless a new election took place, for she alleged that the former one was made in haste and tumult. Accordingly, in 1843, another *Skoupschina* was assembled, and again Kara Georgevich was unanimously chosen Prince of Servia.

He received the *Berat* of investiture from the Sultan, and proved himself a wise and able ruler. During his sway many internal improvements were made, not the least important of which were good roads. Education was

carefully attended to, and military schools, and schools of commerce and agriculture, were established.

When the quarrel took place between Russia and the Porte in 1853, which led to the Crimean War, Georgevich observed a strict neutrality, and would not yield to the natural desire of the Servians to seize the opportunity of shaking themselves entirely free from Turkish sovereignty. For this fidelity to the Ottoman Porte he received a Firman confirming the liberties and privileges of the Servian people.

By the 28th article of the Treaty of Paris, 1856, it was provided : “ The Principality of
“ Servia shall continue to hold of the Sublime
“ Porte, in conformity with the Imperial Hats
“ which fix and determine its rights and immu-
“ nities, placed henceforward under the collective
“ guarantee of the contracting Powers. In conse-
“ quence the said Principality shall preserve its
“ independent and national administration, as

“ well as full liberty of worship, of legislation, of commerce, and of navigation.”

In 1857, a conspiracy was formed against Georgevich by the partisans of the deposed Milofch. The Presidents of the Senate and of the Court of Appeal were accomplices, and they were arrested and condemned to death ; but at the instance of the Porte, supported by the remonstrances of the consuls of France and Russia at Belgrade, they were reprieved. The *Skoupschina*, however, called on Georgevich to abdicate, and he quitted Servia. He was then (December, 1857) declared deposed, and Milofch was recalled, and restored to the dignity of Prince of Servia. He continued to reign until his death in September, 1860, when he was succeeded by his son, Michael Obrenovich III.

In 1862, the Turks bombarded Belgrade to avenge a quarrel between a Turkish foldier and a Servian, who was killed by the Turk. A long diplomatic struggle followed, England and

ASSASSINATION OF MICHAEL.

Austria taking part with Turkey, and France, Russia, and Prussia siding with Servia. The result was that Turkey agreed to evacuate the Servian fortresses.

Prince Michael proved himself an energetic ruler. He armed the nation, establishing an arsenal, and procuring muskets from Russia. But in June, 1868, he was assassinated at Belgrade, while he was walking in a park. He was met by three members of the Radovanitch family—a father and two sons—the former of whom had for some offence been punished with imprisonment. They fired their pistols at the Prince, and he fell mortally wounded. At the same time two ladies, his cousins, with whom he was walking, were attacked by the assassins and murdered. A Provisional Government was immediately formed; the regicides were committed for trial, and ten other persons were arrested on the charge of being implicated in a conspiracy to place Prince Kara Georgevich

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on the throne. Prince Milan Obrenovich, the son of the former ruler, was elected to fill the vacant throne, and as he was then a minor, a Council of Regency was formed to hold office until he came of age. At the same time the *Skoupschina* passed a law by which Prince Kara Georgevich and his descendants were declared incapable of wearing the Servian Crown.

When the news of the assassination of Prince Michael and the formation of a Provisional Government reached Constantinople, the Ottoman Porte immediately communicated to the Provisional Government its desire that the result of the election of a Prince of Servia, "which " ought to be submitted for the sanction of the " Sultan," should be in accordance with the legitimate needs of the country, and that the Servian nation should exercise its electoral rights with all the liberty compatible with order and due regard to law. But in a note addressed to the Great Powers in June, 1868, by Fuad

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Pacha, he said that while the Sublime Porte left to the Servian people its free choice of a new Prince, it was resolved to sanction only the election of one who was a native of Servia (*originaire du pays*).

The Turks had still continued to garrison Belgrade, Semendria, and five other fortresses; but now they have absolutely quitted the soil of Servia, and the solitary symbol of titular sovereignty on the part of the Ottoman Porte is a green flag that floats on the ramparts of Belgrade.*

The national religion of Servia is that of the Greek church. The Archbishop and Bishops acknowledge the primacy of the Patriarch of Constantinople, “but know nothing, and acknowledge nothing of a supremacy in that Patriarch.”† Perfect toleration of Christian

* Belgrade is properly Beo-grad, “the white town.”

† Servia and the Servians, by Rev. W. Denton, London 1862, p. 86.

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worship was secured by a law of September, 1853, and although there is no express sanction of the Jewish religion, a synagogue exists at Belgrade, which the Jews frequent without hindrance or molestation. According to the census of 1866, there were in Servia 3409 Roman Catholics; 352 Protestants, and 4965 Mahometans.

The Constitution of Servia consists of the Prince, assisted by a council of seven ministers, a senate, and a *Skoupschina*,* or House of Representatives. The senate consists of 17 members, nominated by the Prince, who sit *en permanence*—one for each of the 17 Departments into which the Principality is divided. The *Skoupschina* is composed of 134 deputies, of whom 33 are nominated by the Government and 101 chosen by the electors, at the rate of one deputy for every 2000 electors. The electors are the male inhabitants above the age of 21 years, paying direct taxes, and not being domestic servants or gipsies.

* *Skoupschina* is derived from the Slavonic verb *skoupiti*, to assemble.

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As regards its internal administration, Servia is divided into 17 departments, 60 sub-departments, and 1059 *communes*. These communes, which include villages and hamlets, are governed by municipal officers called *kmètes*, who are assisted in the discharge of some of their functions by village councils, called *škoupe*, composed of the head men of the village. “ Every Sunday the heads of the village families meet to form the *škoupe*. The assembly is held in the open air, and lasts four or five hours. In the centre sits the *kmète*, surrounded by the chief men, and with their aid and advice he settles disputes, discusses the wants of each village, and makes known the decrees of the Government.” Such, at least, was the parochial system in Servia a few years ago ; but I am not sure that it has not been modified by recent legislation.

The soil of Servia is fertile and productive, but three-fourths of its surface are uncultivated.

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The people are averse to labour, either as cultivators or artizans, and the peasants, rather than work themselves, employ for the construction of their cottages itinerant masons and carpenters, who flock yearly in swarms from the adjacent provinces of Albania and Macedonia.* The chief grain is maize, but the country produces hemp, flax, tobacco, and cotton.

The last Consular Report in Servia which has been published, so far as I am aware, is dated March, 1872. The population is there stated to be 1,100,000 souls.† As in all the other Danubian provinces, the roads are bad; indeed, they are hardly passable except when a hard frost has set in. Servia has as yet no railways.

The exports of the Principality are corn (which constitutes generally three per cent. of the whole), wool (averaging £60,000 a year),

* Consular Report on Servia for 1872.

† But according to the census of 1866 the population was 1,216,346, of whom 24,607 were gipsies, and 2,509 German settlers.

tallow, spirits, made from the plum, which go into Austria to be rectified, staves for casks, of which £13,000 are exported yearly; and last, but not least, *pigs*, for the pig trade amounts to nearly one-half of the whole value of the exports of the Principality. They find their way chiefly into Hungary, where they are melted down for their fat. Salt cannot properly be included amongst the exports, although a very large quantity passes the frontier outwards; for it is not produced in Servia, but passes through it from Wallachia into Austria, and is in fact chiefly smuggled. There is a copper mine at Maidanpek, belonging to an English company, which produces about £13,000 of copper yearly, and is capable of considerable increase.

As regards imports, the Consular Report says the trade in cotton goods and yarns has very largely increased of late years. In 1864, it was only £2,000, but in 1871-2 it had reached to £30,000 in one year.

STARA, OR OLD SERVIA.

HITHERTO we have been speaking of the Principality of Free Servia, but there is a district due south of it which is properly Stara Servia, or Old Servia, although called by the Turks Arnaoutluk, and considered part of northern Albania, as appears from the various consular reports. This district contains about half a million inhabitants, and its history is curious. “Previous to
“ 1389 it was the most flourishing and favoured
“ portion of European Serbia ; at present, ex-
“ cepting the neighbouring mountains of Al-
“ bania, it is the poorest and worst ruled part of
“ Turkey in Europe.”* The year 1389 is the date of the battle of Kóssovo, when the Servians were conquered by the Turks. Old Servia fol-

* Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey in Europe, by Muir Mackenzie and Irby, p. 246.

lowed the fortunes of (what is now) Free Servia until the latter part of the seventeenth century, when Austria took up arms to repel Turkish invasion, and called upon the Servians to assist her in the struggle. They obeyed the call, and the Austrians advanced as far south as Kóssovo Polié, or the Plain of Kóssovo, when they were driven back and compelled to abandon the country south of the Danube. As the effect of this retreat was to leave Servia at the mercy of the Turks, the German emperor offered an asylum in his own dominions north of the Danube to as many of the inhabitants of Old Servia as chose to emigrate. The consequence was that in 1690, 37,000 families, under the guidance of their patriarch Arsenius Tfrnoïevitch, quitted Old Servia and settled themselves along the frontier north of the Danube and the Save. Here they have remained, and form a great part of the Slavonic population that guards the military frontier of Austria. Old Servia had thus become

almost denuded of her Christian inhabitants, and their place was gradually filled by Albanians, or, as the Turks call them, Arnaouts, from the neighbouring mountains on the west and south. These Albanians were for the most part Christians of the Latin Church; but after they had settled in Old Servia they gradually adopted the Mussulman creed, and at the present time there are only a few Roman Catholic Albanians in the district. The descendants of the Mussulman converts seem, however, to have little sympathy with the other Turks. “ Their antagonism to the authority of the Porte is quite as marked as their arrogance to the Christians. ‘ Fear God little,’ say the Arnaouts of Ipek [the principal town in Old Servia], ‘ and as for the Sultan, do not know that he lives.’ ”*

But there is still left in the district a remnant of the families of Old Servia who are Christians—

* Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey in Europe, p. 253, by Muir Mackenzie and Irby.

a small minority in the midst of Mussulmans—and they have an evil time of it. Leaving the towns to the Mahometans, they dwell chiefly in villages and the country. They are heavily taxed, and we are told by eye-witnesses that “the condition of the country is bad enough to reduce to despair all its inhabitants, excepting, of course, those evil men who thrive on it.” It is no wonder that they look with longing eyes to their brethren in the Principality of Free Servia that adjoins them on the north; but it is said that the Government there discourages emigration from Old Servia, because this would tend to abandon the ancestral home of the race wholly to Mahometans, and thus what I suppose the Free Servians would call a feeling of patriotism is indulged in at the expense of the sufferings of their unfortunate fellow-Christians, and in reality fellow-countrymen.

iii.

BOSNIA.

III.

BOSNIA.

BOSNIA takes its name from Bosna, a tributary of the Save which flows into the Danube at Belgrade.

It is bounded on the north by the Save, which separates it from Slavonia, and on the east by the Drina, which is the frontier line between Bosnia and Servia: on the west by Dalmatia, and on the south by Montenegro and Albania.

The name of Bosnia first emerges in the seventh century in the midst of the irruption of the Serbs into the countries south of the Danube, as I have already mentioned. So far as the obscure history of those times can be trusted the present Bosnia seems to have been

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occupied by Croats in the eighth century, and to have formed part of the possessions of the Archbishopric of Spalato.* It fluctuated, however, for many years under Croatian and Servian dominion, but in the eleventh century we find a Ban of Bosnia as one of the seven Electors with whom rested the election of a king of Croatia.† After the extinction of that dynasty, the King of Hungary in 1102 assumed the crown of Dalmatia and Croatia, and he also called himself King of Rama, which name properly belonged to the present district of Herzegovina, and was derived from the river

* See Von Thoemmel, *Beschreibung des Vilayet Bosnien*, Wien, 1865.

† The word Croats is a corruption of Chrobates, a Slavonic tribe who spread themselves over Illyricum and Dalmatia. In course of time their different hordes roamed northwards, and peopled the countries now known as Croatia and Slavonia. Bosnia was at first included in the general name of Croatia under the Greek Empire. "The Chrobatians, or Croats, who now attend the motions of an Austrian army, are the descendants of a mighty people, the conquerors and sovereigns of Dalmatia."—Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. 55.

THE BANAT.

Rama which flows in it. But it was used indifferently for Bosnia, and we find in old charters the expression *Rex Rhamæ seu Bosniæ*. For several centuries Bosnia remained a Banat under the dominion of Hungary, and one of the Bans named Kulin in the twelfth century described himself as *Fiduciarius Regni Hungariæ*. He is said to have been the first who coined money in Bosnia, and introduced foreign artificers into the territory. His name is still remembered among the people as marking the era of a distant golden age.* The Banat lasted until the fourteenth century, when Stephan Turtko in 1376 exchanged the title of Ban for that of King, and was solemnly crowned in the monastery of Milosevo near Priepolje.

At the disastrous battle of Kóffovo in 1389,

* From an article on Bosnia by Miss Irby, who is one of the two accomplished authoresses of *Travels in Slavonia*, and who, during the last few years, has resided much at Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia, in pursuance of a scheme for training native schoolmistresses.

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when the Servian power was shattered by the Turks, 20,000 Bosnians fought side by side with their Slavonic brethren, and their leader was able after the defeat to make good his return to Bosnia at the head of his troops, who victoriously repelled the Turks when they pressed forward in pursuit.

The history of the next seventy years is a confused record of war and intestine troubles under native Bans and Kings, until the Sultan Mohammed II. in the fifteenth century invaded Bosnia with an overwhelming force and reduced it to subjection, making it tributary to the Porte. And when the King of Bosnia attempted soon afterwards to free himself from the yoke and refused to pay the stipulated tribute, the Sultan again in 1463 invaded the country, and taking fortresses after fortresses became undisputed master of Bosnia. The king and many of the nobility, Voivodes and others, were put to death, 30,000 of the youth were drafted into the ranks of the

Janissaries, and a large number of the inhabitants reduced to slavery. A Turkish Vizier was appointed to administer the government, and he took up his residence at Bosna Serai, now generally called Serajevo.

But the Kings of Hungary had never given up their pretension to be considered lords of Bosnia, and almost immediately after the Sultan had quitted the country which he had so cruelly ravaged, Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary, marched into Bosnia and made himself master of many of the towns and fortresses in spite of the strong opposition of the Turks.

From this time forward for upwards of sixty years Bosnia was divided between the two contending powers of Hungary and the Ottoman Porte, and was the scene of constant struggles between the hostile camps. But the Crescent prevailed against the Cross, for the King of Hungary was too weak to defend the extremities of his kingdom. In the year 1527, the whole

of Bosnia had fallen into the hands of the Turks, and as part of their dominion it has remained from that time to the present day. Not however without frequent struggles for independence, the last of which occurred in 1849-51.

The Mussulmans of Bosnia were strongly opposed to the introduction of the *Tanzimat*, the celebrated code of reforms promulgated by the Sultan Abdul Medjid; and when in 1849 the Porte attempted to force it on the province, it was resisted. A conspiracy of Mussulman chiefs was formed, whose place of rendezvous was the Kraina,* which has generally been the theatre of insurrectionary movements in Bosnia. To repress this, one of the most distinguished Turkish generals, Omer Pacha, who was by birth an Austro-Servian and a convert to the faith of Islam, was sent into the country at the head of a powerful force, but it was not until after a long and obstinate resistance that he was

* I believe the meaning of Kraina is "frontier."

CONVERSION TO ISLAMISM.

able in 1851 to accomplish his object. The reforms were no doubt in the main favourable to the Christians, but one stipulation was most obnoxious to them. They were ordered to give up their arms and forbidden to wear them, although afterwards the Sultan granted particular exceptions in favour of individuals when permission was asked through the priests or foreign consuls.

One remarkable effect of the conquest of Bosnia by the Turks was, that a considerable part of the population embraced the Mussulman religion. We must never forget this when speaking, not only of the Bosnians, but also of other Mussulmans in Turkey in Europe. They are not Osmanlis—not of the same race as those fierce Orientals who crossed the Bosphorus, and made subject to their sway some of the fairest regions of the earth. The consequence is that they have always been distinguished by a spirit of opposition to the central authority of Constan-

tinople, and some writers who have had opportunities, by residence in Bosnia, of closely observing the temper of the people, are of opinion that the Bosnian Mussulmans would, in case Bosnia became independent of the Porte, have little difficulty in changing their religion, and embracing the Christian creed of their forefathers. I think, however, that this is more than doubtful—for hitherto they have been distinguished by a very fanatical hatred of the Rayas, and are by them more hated than the Osmanli Turks.

The old Bosnian nobility, whose forefathers became Mussulmans, have been metamorphosed into Begs and Agas. But their power is gone, and their castles are crumbling into decay. They are excluded from official posts by the jealousy of the Ottoman Porte, and being too proud to engage in industrial pursuits, they live poor and with little influence. Their old rank of Spahis, or feudal military chiefs, has been abolished, and the tithe they formerly received from the peasants

HERZEGOVINA.

is paid into the Government Treasury. They are described as ignorant, corrupt, indolent, and wholly incapable of organization or combined action.

The Mussulman population fills the towns, while the Christian Rayas chiefly occupy the villages, which are scattered far apart.

In ancient times HERZEGOVINA formed part of Illyricum, and was included in the Roman province of Dalmatia. Under the old Servian dominion, the eastern part of it, which was called Humska, was a Zupania; but after the battle of Kóssovo and the dismemberment of Servia, the Zupans of Humska, who were the descendants of Stephan Nemandia, quarrelled amongst themselves for the chief rule, and Stephan IV., the Ban of Bosnia, taking advantage of their dissensions, incorporated the district with his own dominions. This was in 1334. For fifty-five years it remained part of Bosnia, but in 1389 Turtko I., who was then King

of Bosnia, granted it as a fief to one of the Voivodes, Vlatko Hranić, who, as well as his son and successor Sandlaj, stood firmly by their liege lord, the ruler of Bosnia, in his contests with the Turks, and contributed materially to his successful resistance. After the death of Sandlaj in 1435, Vlatko's nephew, Stephan Kofaca, succeeded him, and he extended the limits of his territory by absorbing part of the lands of Bosnia proper, and adding the old Zupania of Rascia. At last he threw off his allegiance to the King of Bosnia, and acknowledged himself the vassal of the German Emperor, Frederick IV.

In consequence of this, Frederick bestowed upon him the title of Herzog, or Duke, from which the province derives its present name.

Duke Stephan was an ambitious ruler, bent on aggrandizing his own domain ; but he was short-sighted enough to stand aloof and render no assistance to the King of Bosnia when the Turks

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burst into the country in 1463, and reduced it to subjection.

Herzegovina soon followed the fate of Bosnia, and became tributary to the Porte. Stephan placed in its hands as a hostage his youngest son, who became a Mussulman, and married one of the daughters of the Sultan. He died in 1466, and soon afterwards Herzegovina became a Turkish province—in fact, nothing more than a Sandjak of the Vilayet of Bosnia, and as such it has remained to the present day.* Sir Gardner Wilkinson says:—"The miseries endured by the
"people when conquered by the Turks . . . and
"the persecutions that led to the flight of
"thousands of Slavonian Christians are scarcely
"known, or cease to present the picture of woe
"that for years afflicted the unhappy countries
"(Bosnia and Herzegovina)."†

* Von Thoenne, Beschreibung des Vilayet Bosnien.

† Dalmatia and Montenegro, vol. ii. p. 97. The chief town in Herzegovina is Mostar, on the banks of the Neretva. It was once a Roman Municipium, called Mandertium or Matrica.

BOSNIA.

There are in Bosnia about 1800 Turkish mosques, but many of these are mere wooden buildings.

The population of the whole country, including Herzegovina, according to the latest official reports, is 1,216,846, thus divided :—

Bosnian Mussulmans	442,050
Christians of the Greek Church	576,756
Roman Catholics	185,503
Jews	3,000
Gipsies	9,537
	<hr/>
	1,216,846

Besides these there are about 5000 Austrian subjects, and a few hundreds of Turkish officials.

The Roman Catholic population has for centuries acknowledged as its immediate superior authority in matters of religion the Provincial Order of Minorites of St. Francis of Assisi, to which it was made subject by the Pope Leo X. in 1517.* Herzegovina, however, in 1852, withdrew itself from their authority. There still

* Von Thoemmel, Beschreibung des Vilayet Bosnien.

exists a Firman by which the Sultan Mahomet, in 1463, granted special privileges to the Bosnian monks, and forbade them to be molested or disturbed. But this could not prevent the ravages of war and disorder, and of the thirty old monasteries which once existed in Bosnia, it is said that in 1860 only three remained. But since then the number has been increased, and three stately monasteries have been built, one in Herzegovina, and the others in Bosnia Proper.

The Greek Church in Bosnia uses a Slavonic Liturgy, and the members of the Communion call their religion the Pravoslav, which is the same as that of the Russians; but they are forced against their will to submit to the jurisdiction of the Greek Patriarch at Constantinople.

The Jews live chiefly in the capital, Serajevo (the old Bosna Serai), and are there a prosperous community. But they are met with also in some of the other provincial towns, such as Mostar (the capital of Herzegovina) and Travnik.

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The gipsies in Bosnia are like all gipsies in the rest of the world, and their occupation is described as “smith-work, begging, and thieving.” *

While on the subject of religion in Bosnia, I may mention that there existed there for several centuries a Protestant sect known by the name of Paterenes or Bogomilen, said to have been founded by an Armenian named Basil in the reign of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus. The origin of the name Paterenes is uncertain, some deriving it from *patior*, which means “suffering,”—and this would not inaptly describe the history of their persecutions. They denied the sovereignty of the Pope, the power of the priests, the efficacy of prayers for the dead, and the existence of purgatory. In many respects their position and doctrine remind us of the Albigenses. Pope Innocent III., who made himself conspicuous by his persecuting zeal against

* Von Thoemmel, p. 109.

THE PATERENES.

heretics, called upon the King of Hungary, who then was Suzerain of Bosnia, to expel all the Paterenes from the territory ; but Kulin, the Ban of Bosnia, evaded the order, and continued to encourage the Paterenes until his death at the end of the 12th century. Succeeding Popes fulminated their anathemas against the increasing sect, but they continued to flourish, not without many vicissitudes of fortune, until the reign of Stephan, King of Bosnia, who, in 1449, ordered all the Paterenes to leave Bosnia Proper, which was under his immediate sway, and 40,000 of them took refuge in Herzegovina. “ From “ that period little is known about them in those “ parts of Europe.” *

Bosnia Proper, as distinguished from Herzegovina, is a rugged mountainous country full of magnificent forests. The climate of Herzegovina is much milder, especially in the south, and in its

* Dalmatia and Montenegro, by Sir G. Wilkinson, vol. ii. p. 113.

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lower valleys the vine and the olive flourish abundantly. There are also mulberries, figs, rice, and tobacco.* “The soil of Bosnia teems
“with various and valuable minerals, her hills
“abound in splendid forests, her well-watered
“plains are fertile and productive; her race,
“under culture, proves exceptionally gifted.”†
But what is the condition of the people?

“La Bosnie est de toutes les provinces
“turques celle où la civilisation a fait le moins
“de progrès.”‡ Miss Irby, who has long resided
in Bosnia, describes it as “the most barbarous of
“the provinces of Turkey in Europe. . . . The
“masses of the people are ground to the dust under
“the present régime. . . . There is no develop-
“ment of the immense material resources of the

* See *La Bosnie considérée dans ses rapports avec l'Empire Ottoman*, par Pertusier; and *Von Thoemmel, Beschreibung des Vilayet Bosnien*.

† I take this description from Miss Irby's article on Bosnia, before mentioned.

‡ *Provinces Danubiennes*, par MM. Chopin et Ubicini, p. 239.

MISERY OF THE PEOPLE.

“country, no means of employment and occupa-
“tion, which might enable the poor to meet the
“ever increasing taxation, the extortions of the
“officials, and the heavy exactions of their own
“clergy.” Not one man in a hundred of the
inhabitants knows how to read, and the chief
town Serajevo, which contains from 40,000 to
50,000 inhabitants, does not possess a single
bookfeller’s shop. And Von Thoemmel,
who was attached to the Austrian Consulate
there for four years, says that “Nature has
“granted to these lands many fertile sources of
“prosperity, but in mournful contrast to the
“lavishness of nature the people languish in deep
“dejection and poverty, frequently even in
“misery.”* Here we have French, English,
and German testimony borne to the miserable
condition of the people under the curse of mis-
government, although soil, climate and position
are all favourable to happiness and prosperity.

* Beschreibung des Vilayet Bosnien, p. 211.

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The population of Bosnia is chiefly agricultural. The peasants are maintained by and work for the proprietors of the soil, and are very poor.* The food of the people consists chiefly of coarse bread, native cheese, and vegetables, with very rarely meat or poultry. The lodgings of the artisans “an English mechanic would consider “uninhabitable. . . . The houses of the poorer “classes are mere hovels without any kind of “comfort or accommodation, situated in the “midst of reeking filth, and as unhealthy as “overcrowded and air-poisoned dwellings can “possibly be.”† The climate, however, is considered good—cool and bracing in the mountainous parts, but “in the Herzegovina and “other low situations the heat is considerable, “and miasmatic fevers are frequent.”‡

In the Consular Report on Bosnia for 1874 it is stated that “the general political condition of

* Consular Report for Bosnia, 1870.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

CONSULAR REPORT.

“ Bosnia during the past year has been perfectly
“ tranquil. . . . What I have said before
“ regarding the administration of the province
“ still obtains. All amelioration is checked
“ by the too frequent change of Governors.
“ Dervish Pasha [the present Governor] appears
“ to be as good as most of his predecessors, but
“ the uncertainty he feels as to his stability in
“ his post naturally influences his conduct.
“ Provincial affairs therefore are carried on as
“ heretofore, and I see no present prospect of
“ improvement in prosperity and civilisation.”

As to roads, the same Report says, “ road
“ making has not been very actively carried on.
“ The road from Serajevo to Mostar [in Herze-
“ govina] begun ten years ago is still unfinished,
“ though a certain progress has been made, and
“ in dry weather it is now possible to perform
“ the journey in one of the rough carts of the
“ country. . . . The Brood road has not yet
“ been repaired, though it is in a most dilapi-

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“dated condition, and in no other direction has
“any progress been made.”

As to railways, “the proposed railway through
“Bosnia is for the present in abeyance.”

The revenue of the Province for 1874 was estimated at £595,814, and the expenditure at £197,514, showing a balance of £398,300. In these figures the custom-house revenues are not included, for they are always sent to Constantinople and are never available for any provincial necessities. Still with such a surplus of income over expenditure we are not surprised to learn that “it never, or very rarely, happens that the
“income of the Province is insufficient to cover
“all the outlay required of it.” An income and property tax has been established in place of the old personal tax called *Verghi*. There is also a tax levied in substitution of military service, which has lately increased largely in total amount.

The trade of Bosnia consists chiefly of cereals,

TRADE OF BOSNIA.

wool and hides, but the cattle trade, once so flourishing in Bosnia, has entirely ceased. Since the cattle disease first broke out in 1862, it seems never to have thoroughly disappeared, and the Austrian Government has strictly closed the frontiers against the importation of Bosnian cattle. “No notice of the disease seems to be taken
“by the Turkish authorities. It is admitted to
“exist, but no efforts are made to check it, nor
“are any reports made on the subject.”*

* Consular Report on Bosnia for 1874.



IV.

MONTENEGRO.

IV.

MONTENEGRO.

THE little State of Montenegro was in former times included in the Duchy of Zeta (so called from the river Zeta or Zenta, which flows in it from north to south), and Zeta included part of Herzegovina. The native name of it is Tcherná Gora, "The Black Forest," but the Venetians changed it to Montenegro, "The Black Mountain," by which it is now known. Several derivations have been suggested for this epithet of "Black" applied to the State. One is that the Turks found the inhabitants such formidable opponents that they called it "The Black Country." Another that it was an asylum for bandits and outlaws from the neigh-

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bouring States, and thus became a receptacle of *Blackguards*; but this is a name wholly inapplicable to the Montenegrins, who are brave, courteous, and hospitable; and at the little Court of Cetigné, the capital, the traveller will find culture and accomplishments which would do honour to the most civilised nation of Europe. Another theory is that the epithet is owing to its gloomy rocks, which were formerly thickly covered with pines; another, that it is derived from the name of one of the oldest rulers, Ivo Tfernöi (the Black). The Ottomans call the territory Karadagh, which means Black Mountain.

The country is a mass of mountains of fantastic forms, with vast caverns in their sides and base, in which numbers of streams—they can hardly be called rivers—are lost to appear again after a subterraneous passage through the rocks. One writer has compared it to a petrified sea of mud, and another to an enormous cake of

PHYSICAL ASPECT.

wax perforated by a thousand holes. According to an ancient legend, the Almighty at the creation of the world carried in a sack the rocks and mountains which he distributed over the earth, but when over Montenegro the sack burst, and out fell the mountains in *pell-mell* confusion where they have remained ever since. There are deep and narrow ravines which run up into the mountains, and in one part almost cut the territory into two; these latter are held by the Turks, and at each end stands a Turkish fortress. The unwalled villages scattered in the glens and on the slopes of the mountains are guarded by barriers of lofty rocks,—

——— “confusedly hurled,
Like fragments of an earlier world.”

There is hardly anything which can be called a road in the territory. When the French occupied Dalmatia, the Emperor Napoleon offered to construct at his own expense a road from Kattaro to Nikšich, but the proposal was

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declined by the Montenegrins, who are naturally averse to any scheme which would make access to the interior of their country more easy than it is. They know, too well, that they owe their freedom chiefly to the barrier of rocks and mountains which Nature has given them. It is in fact a country almost impracticable to an enemy, as long as it is guarded by brave men.

But the climate is better than the rude aspect of the rocks denotes. On the level land to the south-east, on the borders of the Lake of Scutari, it has been compared to the climate of Nice, and figs, oranges, and olives grow there in abundance. In other parts there is good pasturage and plenty of corn.

Montenegro was part of ancient Illyricum, and fell under the dominion of Rome in the second century before Christ. Traces of old Roman roads are still to be met with in the country. It continued to be part of the Roman Empire until it was attacked and conquered by the Goths,

who, in turn, were subdued by the Slavonic Serbs. It shared the vicissitudes of the Dalmatian coast, which was held in the middle ages at one time by Venice, and at another by Hungary, until the Servian power was shattered at the battle of Kóssovo in 1389, as I have already mentioned. At that time it was governed by Prince Balsa, the son-in-law of Lazar, the Kral or Despot of Servia, to whose assistance he marched, but could not reach the camp in time to take part in the battle. Some Servian bands, under the leadership of Strachina Ivo, surnamed Tsernoï (the Black), found a refuge after Kóssovo amongst the barren rocks of Montenegro. He married the sister of Scanderbeg, the hero of Albania, and assisted him in his long conflict with the Ottoman Turks. In 1478, the Sultan Mahomet II. attacked Scutari, then held by the Venetians, and Ivo made a descent upon Albania to effect a diversion in favour of Venice. But the

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arms of the Sultan prevailed, and the Turks pressed forward to conquer Montenegro. Ivo went to Venice to demand succour, but the Republic had just concluded peace with the Ottoman Porte, and his appeal was in vain. He returned to Montenegro, and abandoning his ancestral castle of Jabliak, situated on an island in the Lake of Scutari, took refuge in the mountains. He built a fort at Riéka and a church and convent at Cetigné, the present capital of Montenegro, and roused such a spirit of resistance in the people that the Turks abandoned for the time the attempt at conquest. His son, George Tfernovich, however, who succeeded him was less fortunate, and harassed by the constant irruptions of the Turks he determined in the year 1516 to abandon Montenegro, and pass the rest of his life in tranquillity at Venice, leaving the government in the hands of the *Vladika* or Metropolitan Bishop of Cetigné.

From that time the Vladikas as Prince-Bishops

NOMINAL SUBJECTION.

became the rulers of Montenegro, and this ecclesiastical form of government lasted for more than three hundred years. It became at last hereditary in the family of Niégofch at the end of the seventeenth century. As every Vladika was consecrated Bishop and could not marry, the succession always passed to a nephew, or such other member of the family as happened to be heir.

In 1623 Soleiman, Pacha of Scutari, penetrated to Cetigné, the capital, and “the supremacy of the Sublime Porte was in name established over the Black Mountain. The Ottomans, however, have never been able to remain in possession of the country.”* By the Treaty of Carlowitz, 1699, Montenegro was left by the Ottomans under the protectorate of Venice. And by the Treaty of Passarowitz, in 1718, it was in terms ceded back to Venice, and became again *nominally* subject to the Porte.

* Twiss's Law of Nations, vol. i. § 73.

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Its dependence on the Porte was recognised by Austria in the Treaty of Sistova in 1791; for that Treaty provides (Art. 1) that the inhabitants of Montenegro, Bosnia, Servia, Wallachia, and Moldavia, may re-enter their ancient possessions and enjoy their rights, without being punished or molested “for having taken up
“arms against their own Sovereign, or for
“having done homage to the Imperial Court
“of Austria.”* This is important as bearing upon the claim of the Ottoman Porte, even now, to titular sovereignty over Montenegro, to which I shall again allude.

In 1706 the Montenegrins placed themselves formally under the protection of Russia and took the oath of allegiance to the Czar, after which time it was usual for each successive Vladika to receive consecration at St. Petersburg.

Under the sway of their Vladikas the inhabitants bravely and successfully resisted the

* Marten's Recueil, tom. v. 246.

APOSTASY.

repeated attempts of the Ottoman Porte to get possession of the country. In the meantime not a few of them had apostatized from the Christian faith and become followers of the Prophet, but under the rule of Daniel Petrovitch, the first Vladika of the Niégofch family, and at his instigation, the choice was given to these Mussulmans of either baptism or death, and a fearful massacre of most of them took place.

The history of the eighteenth century is a monotonous record of constant hostilities between the Montenegrins and the Turks, which have continued down to the present day. In 1716, the Montenegrins defeated two Turkish Pachas, and drove their advancing troops out of the territory. But, in 1739, the Turks surrounded it on all sides, and for seven years completely blockaded every access to it. The mountaineers were shut up amidst their inaccessible rocks, but they made frequent sorties, and at last so harassed their enemies that they retired, and left Monte-

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negro for some time unmolested. In 1768, three Turkish armies that invaded the country at different points were driven back, although the inhabitants had almost exhausted all their ammunition, and were only able to obtain a supply by making a foray during a terrible storm, and plundering one of the enemy's camps. During this century the Montenegrins were the victims of an imposture, by a person calling himself Peter III. of Russia, who was really dead, and he induced them to espouse his cause, and obey him as their ruler, conjointly with their own Vladika. He however became blind, and retired to a monastery, where he is said to have been assassinated.

In 1789 the Turks suffered a signal defeat. At that time Peter Petrovich Niégofsch was the Vladika, and Mahmoud Pacha of Scutari, at the head of a numerous and powerful army, penetrated into the heart of Montenegro, but

they were furrounded on all sides at Krouffa, and almost entirely destroyed by the mountaineers; the Pacha himself being amongst the slain. His head was long exposed to public view at Cetigné, and kept as a trophy of the victory. Peter Petrovich, who was as much distinguished by his courage as his political wisdom, lived to a great age, and died in 1830. He had been able to wrest from the Pachalik of Scutari the rocky district called Berda, which now forms part of Montenegro. He was succeeded by his nephew of the same name, a young man who at the time of the death of his uncle was only fifteen years of age. He was consecrated Vladika at St. Petersburg in 1833, and he had hardly assumed the reins of power when he was called to defend his territory against a furious onslaught of the Turks, led by the Pacha of Scutari. A great battle was fought in 1832, and the Montenegrins were victorious. This was followed by a peace of some duration

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between Montenegro and Turkey, but soon afterwards she found herself engaged with another formidable enemy.

One of the greatest drawbacks to the prosperity of the State is that it has no seaport. Antivari on the Adriatic, to the south of Montenegro, is the port of Scutari or Scudra, a Turkish garrison town, and can only be reached on the land side through Turkish territory. Cattaro, which seems designed by nature to belong to Montenegro, and which lies to the north, at the head of a winding irregular gulf, called the *Bocche di Cattaro*, at a distance from the frontier of only one hour's ascent up the mountain, belongs to Austria. It is placed on a narrow ledge between the sea and the mountains, and its castle is perched high above, amongst the rocks. A zig-zag road like a ladder climbs the mountain side, and leads to the Montenegrin frontier, hardly more than a thousand yards in a direct line from the sea, and across

WANT OF A SEAPORT.

the mountain it changes into a rough path as far as Cetigné, the capital. Cattaro had been made over by England to Montenegro, in return for her co-operation with us in the war against Napoleon, when the Montenegrins in 1814, with the aid of a British fleet, attacked the French at Cattaro and captured the town and fortrefs. But they did not hold it long, for after the termination of the war it was given over at the Congress of Vienna to Austria, in whose possession it still remains.

“The most important acquisition for Montenegro, and without which it will never make any real advance in civilization, is that of a seaport, however small it may be, in order to have a direct and free communication with the rest of the world, and indeed, it cannot but be a cause of constant heart-burning to the Montenegrins to gaze on the sea, which at Cattaro is separated from their country by less than the distance of a rifle-shot, and not to have any

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“access to it, except with the permission of the
“Austrians.”*

The possession of Cattaro by Austria led to a collision between that Power and Montenegro. The mountaineers had, to use the term, “squatted” on the sea-coast between Antivari and Cattaro, and so encroached upon Austrian territory. The Austrian Government in 1838 sent its engineers into Dalmatia to draw a frontier line, and as this interfered with the supposed rights of the Montenegrins, they drove away the Austrian officers, and attacked some Austrian outposts. To avenge this insult a body of Austrian troops marched against Montenegro, and an obstinate engagement was fought in a mountain gorge in which neither side could claim a decisive success, but the result was that the Austrians retired, and in 1840 the question of the Montenegrin frontier was referred to the arbitration of Russia, and

* Montenegro and the Slavonians of Turkey, by Count Valerian Krassinski. Quoted by Sir G. Wilkinson.

QUESTION OF FRONTIER.

peaceful relations were restored between Montenegro and Austria.

The frontier of Montenegro had been for centuries ill-defined on the north, where the lowlands of Herzegovina join it, and was for a long time debatable ground. The inhabitants there are Rayas, that is, Christians under Turkish rule ; and their sympathies were, and still are, entirely with the Montenegrins. It has been always a disturbed district, the scene of constant guerilla warfare between the two races, Christian and Turk, and in their struggles the Herzegovinian Rayas have looked to Montenegro for help. Lord Strangford, who was our Ambassador at Constantinople, said that Montenegro has “ a natural though limited line of “ probable annexation on her north-western “ frontier, in the Christian districts of the Herze- “ govina towards Niksch and Trebinje.” *

* Quoted in *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces*, by Muir Mackenzie and Irby, p. 575.

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The plain of Nikšić in Herzegovina is bounded on the north by a range of mountains, which were formerly covered with noble forests, now, within the last few years, destroyed by the Turks.

“For eighteen months these mountains have
“been burning, and the magnificent oaks and
“beeches, which furnished the country around
“with the choicest timber, are now almost
“wholly destroyed. This has been done by
“orders from Constantinople, in order to form
“a sterile frontier; but its effect will be to
“destroy the plain which lies at the foot of the
“mountains, and to reduce it to the condition
“of the arid plains of Albania on the other
“frontier of Montenegro.”* There can be little doubt that if the plain between Nikšić and Montenegro were formally annexed, and recognised as belonging, to Montenegro, it would be better for her and Turkey also, for it would put an end to a constant source of disquiet and

* A Ride through Montenegro, by Rev. W. Denton, in 1865.

PRINCE DANIEL I.

trouble, and by making the ruler of Montenegro directly responsible for the peace of that district as part of his dominions, it would remove the plausible pretext which the Ottoman Porte too frequently has for charging him with fomenting disturbance on Turkish territory.

The young Vladika died in 1851, and was succeeded by Daniel I., who perished by the hand of an assassin in 1860.

In 1852 Montenegro was attacked by the Turks under Omer Pacha, but the Austrian Government interfered at Constantinople, and by its mediation the expedition was recalled. During the Crimean war Prince Daniel observed strict neutrality, notwithstanding the disturbed state of the Ottoman dominions in Europe, where the Christian population sympathised with Russia, and in some parts broke out in insurrection. He cherished the hope that at the Conference of Paris in 1856, his little kingdom would be formally recognised as an independent

MONTENEGRO.

State For although Montenegro has never been substantially conquered by the Turks, and has never been for any length of time in their actual possession, the Ottoman Porte still lays titular claim to it, and pretends that it is part of the Pachalik of Scutari.* In answer to Count Buol, at the Conference of Paris in 1856, Ali Pacha, the representative of Turkey, said that the Porte considered Montenegro "as an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, although it had no intention of changing the existing state of things." This assertion was not negatived by any of the representatives of the Great Powers, but provoked an indignant remonstrance from Prince Daniel, who, in a letter addressed to the European Courts in May of that year, said, "The assertion is un-

* We must remember that our own sovereigns styled themselves Kings of France until George III. dropped the absurd title. And yet he had a better claim to it than the Turks ever had to the suzerainty of Montenegro, for we once held for centuries a considerable part of France.

BATTLE OF GRAHOVO.

“founded. The Montenegrins might with
“better right lay claim to half of Albania and
“the whole of Herzegovina ; because my prede-
“cessors, independent Princes of Montenegro,
“Dukes of Zeta, formerly possessed those terri-
“tories, whereas the Turks have never possessed
“Montenegro.” I have said that, by the Treaty
of Sistova, Montenegro was declared or admitted
by Austria to be subject to the Porte, and after
the successful foray of Soleiman Pacha in 1623,
the Turks laid claim to the sovereignty ; but
they were never able to hold possession of the
country, and they seem to have had no more
real right by title of conquest, than a nation at
war with another has a right to declare a paper
blockade, and say that *jure gentium* it closes the
enemy’s ports.

In 1858, the Turks again attacked Montenegro with a powerful armament, and the district of Grahovo, bordering on Herzegovina, was the scene of a decisive battle, in which the Monte-

negrins were victorious. In a despatch by Mirko Petrovich, the brother of Prince Daniel, and the general who commanded in the action, he said, "Of the thousands of which the Turkish
" army was composed, scarce a few hundreds
" have escaped to tell how the Montenegrins
" can fight for their country. Your soldiers
" have slain seven thousand Turks, taken eight
" pieces of artillery, twelve hundred caparisoned
" horses, and five hundred tents. . . . It is thus
" that the Montenegrins have in part avenged
" the defeat of their Servian ancestors on the
" plain of Kóssovo on June 15, 1389."

A delimitation of frontiers was made between Montenegro and Turkey in 1842; and in 1858 the question came under discussion at a conference of Ambassadors in Constantinople, where they met to consider the report of a Commission that had been appointed to determine the actual limits of the territory. This Commission was composed of delegates from England, France,

DELIMITATION OF FRONTIER.

Austria, Prussia, Russia, Turkey, and Montenegro, and had met at Scutari in the summer of 1857. Ali Pacha wished to insert in the Protocol an assertion of the right of sovereignty of the Ottoman Porte over Montenegro; but this was strongly opposed by the representatives of France and Russia, and the result was that the Protocol was signed without any insertion of the obnoxious claim. The southern limit of Montenegro was fixed by a line beginning at a point due north of, but close to Antivari: it passes through the western part of the Lake of Scutari, and extends to the east as far as the Graditchnita river. The northern frontier extends from a point south-west of Grahovo, near Dalmatia, as far as Brucovi in the east.* A glance at the official map shows that the territory is pinched, like the body of a wasp, in the middle; Herzegovina pressing into it on the north and Albania

* See Hertlet's Map of Europe by Treaty, 1814-1875, vol. ii. p. 1354.

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on the fourth. This delimitation of frontiers was confirmed by a Protocol between Turkey and Montenegro on the 26th of October, 1866. It was provided in the *procès verbal* of 1858 that “the demarcation shall in no way interfere with
“the private property possessed on either side of
“the frontiers, either by individuals or by villages.”*

In 1861, hostilities again broke out between the Turks and Montenegrins, in which, as usual, the inhabitants of the southern part of Herzegovina were involved. Prince Daniel was now dead, and had been succeeded by his nephew, Prince Nicholas, the son of Mirko Petrovitch. Omer Pacha was sent from Constantinople with instructions to restore order in the disturbed districts by negotiation or force of arms. With him was associated a commission representing the five Great Powers, the members of which had an

* See Hertlet's Map of Europe by Treaty, 1814-1875, vol. iii. p. 1787.

interview with the Montenegrin and Herzegovinian chiefs ; but it led to no definite result. Prince Nicholas offered to assist in the pacification of Herzegovina on three conditions : 1. The recognition by Turkey of the independence of Montenegro ; 2. The grant of a seaport ; 3. The rectification of frontiers. But these proposals were not favourably received, and the commission was shortly afterwards dissolved. The quarrel now became open war. The Montenegrins attacked the Turkish town of Kernitza, in Albania, and compelled the troops there to surrender, carrying them prisoners to Cetigné, where they were kindly treated, and most of them were soon afterwards set at liberty. Omer Pacha vigorously pressed on the war. Mirko Petrovitch, the father of Prince Nicholas, and elder brother of the former Prince Daniel, took the military command of the Montenegrins, and obstinate battles were fought in which the mountaineers, men, women, and children,

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defended their country with heroic courage. But the Turks gained some sensible advantages, and at one time a report was spread through Europe that Cetigné, the capital of Montenegro, had been taken. But it was taken only in a lying Turkish map.

At last peace was restored, and in 1862 a Convention was signed at Scutari, which has for the time settled the quarrel between Montenegro and the Porte. In the Convention not a word is said about the pretensions of Turkey to sovereignty over Montenegro. The limits assigned to the territory by the Protocol of 1858 were confirmed; but there was an important provision which bears upon the present struggle going on in Herzegovina. By the seventh article it was agreed that the Montenegrins should make no hostile expeditions outside their frontiers, and "in case of insurrection in any of
" the adjoining districts they were to give it no
" support, either moral or material." Monte-

CONSTITUTION.

negro also engaged not to erect any tower or fortification on the confines of Albania, Bosnia, or Herzegovina. And there was to be a mutual extradition of criminal fugitives from justice.

The present Constitution of Montenegro is that contained in the Code of Prince Daniel, promulgated in 1855. This Code embraces not only the Constitution, but also the civil and criminal law of the State. The Government had, as I have before mentioned, been half ecclesiastical and half civil; but now the hereditary sovereignty was vested in the family of Niégosch in the male line as secular Princes. The title of the Prince in the Montenegrin language is “Kniaze and Gofpodar (*i e.* Hofpodar) of “Tchernagora and Berda.”* The Code established also a Senate, *Soviet*, consisting of eighteen members, from amongst whom the Prince chooses his Council of Ministers. The

* Berda, or properly B'rda, means a group of rocky mountains.

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Senate prepares laws for his sanction, and acts as a Supreme Court of Justice. But the old Slavonic principle of regard for popular rights remains, and every village or department has the right of electing its own chiefs. It will be interesting to quote from Krafinski a passage which describes the mode in which public business was carried on at the time he wrote : * “ In a semicircular recess formed by the rocks on one side of the plain of Tsetinie, and about half a mile to the southward of the town, is a level piece of grass land with a thicket of low poplar-trees. Here the Diet is held ; from which the spot has received the name of *Mali S'bor*, ‘ the small assembly.’ When any matter is to be discussed the people meet in this their *Runnimeđe*, or ‘ meadow of Council,’ and partly on the level space, partly on the rocks, receive from the Vladika notice of the question

* Cited by Sir G. Wilkinson in his Travels in Dalmatia and Montenegro.

MEADOW OF COUNCIL.

“propofed. The duration of the difcuſſion is
“limited to a certain time, at the expiration of
“which the aſſembly is expected to come to
“a deciſion; and when the bell of the monastery
“orders ſilence, notwithstanding the moſt ani-
“mated difcuſſion, it is inſtantly reſtored. The
“Metropolitan aſks again what is their deciſion,
“and whether they agree to his propoſal? The
“anſwer is (generally) the ſame, *Budi po tvoyemu*,
“*Vladika*, ‘Let it be as thou wiſheſt, O
“‘Vladika!’”

The population of Montenegro is about 120,000, and it contains from eighty to ninety geographical ſquare miles. It is divided into eight *Nátuas*, or diſtricts, and theſe again into *plémenes*, or communes.

There is no regular army, but all the male inhabitants who can carry arms are ready at a moment’s notice to fight in defence of their country. The number of theſe, between the ages of twenty and fifty years, is eſtimated at

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20,000; and in a territory so impregnable by nature, they are amply sufficient to repel an attacking force, unless in overwhelming numbers.

The Montenegrins used to have a savage custom of displaying the skulls of their enemies slain in battle, and above the monastery of Tšetinie stood a famous Tower of Skulls, where these ghastly trophies were hung up. But the tower has been pulled down, and the monastery is now better known by its printing-press.

One characteristic of the people is the respect shown to women. Not that they do not labour hard and carry enormous loads, but they need fear neither insult nor injury. It is said that a young girl may travel from one end of Montenegro to the other in perfect safety, and her presence protects even an enemy from outrage.*

It is impossible not to feel sympathy and respect for this diminutive Highland State, which, surrounded on three sides—the north, east, and

* *Les Serbes en Turquie*, Ubicini, p. 151.

south—by the Turkish provinces of Herzegovina, Bosnia, and Albania, has gallantly held its own for centuries against all the efforts of the Ottoman Porte. Over and over again it has been attacked, but it has never been really conquered. The tide of Turkish invasion has surged in vain against the rocks of the Black Mountain, and the Montenegrins stand a free and Christian people in the midst of countries which have long succumbed to the rule of an Infidel Power. The name of Marathon stands out glorious in all time, for there a handful of Greeks crushed an invading host—Persia “and
“all her chivalry;”—and Grahovo deserves an almost equal place in the Temple of Fame, for there a handful of mountaineers rolled back the torrent of Turkish invasion, and maintained their ancestral freedom against the last desperate effort of the Ottoman Porte. Who will not hope that their independence may remain secure, and that the Crescent there will never triumph over the Cross?



V.

. *BULGARIA.*

V.

BULGARIA.

BULGARIA, which adjoins Servia on the east, is that part of Turkey which in the days of the Roman Empire was known as Mœsia. It is separated from Roumelia on the south by the lofty range of the Balkan Mountains. The north-eastern portion of it is called the Dobroufcha, and a railway crosses it from Rustchuk on the Danube to Varna on the Black Sea. It is the most desolate line by which I ever travelled, passing through a country the features of which reminded me of the Suffex Downs, but with no smiling villages, and hardly any visible population.

The whole province is now comprised in the

BULGARIA.

Vilayet of Touna on the Danube, but this seems to be composed of three divisions—those of Siliftria, Widdin and Niffa.

Gibbon does not make it clear whether he considers the Bulgarians and Slavonians as the same or different races. He says, “The wild
“people who dwelt or wandered in the plains of
“Russia, Lithuania, and Poland, might be reduced
“in the age of Justinian under the two great
“families of Bulgarians and the Slavonians.”*
He speaks of their “*Tartar* manners,” but says that the Bulgarians assumed a vague dominion over the Slavonian name, and then in a general description of the Slavonians confounds them and the Bulgarians together. And yet afterwards he speaks of them as different, and says that he does not attempt to define their intermediate boundaries, which were not accurately known or respected by the barbarians themselves. Again he says, “I adopt the appellation of Bulgarians.

* Decline and Fall, chap. 42.

ORIGIN OF BULGARIANS.

“. . . The name of Huns is too vague; the
“tribes of the Cutturgarians and Utturgarians
“are too minute and too harsh.” He speaks of
“an invasion of the Huns or Bulgarians, so
“dreadful that it almost effaced the memory of
“their past inroads.” But immediately afterwards he treats them as Slavonians, who having
“insolently divided themselves into two bands,
“discovered the weakness and misery of a
“triumphant reign.” Again, “In the thirty-
“second winter of Justinian’s reign, the Danube
“was deeply frozen; Zahergan led the cavalry
“of the Bulgarians, and his standard was followed by a promiscuous multitude of Slavonians.”* They advanced against Constantinople, but were met and defeated by the aged Belisarius, and after ravaging the plains of Thrace retired upon the Danube.

The truth is that the Bulgarians were not properly a Slavonic tribe, although Gibbon says,

* Decline and Fall, chap. 43.

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“The unquestionable evidence of language
“attests the descent of the Bulgarians from the
“original stock of the Slavonian, or more pro-
“perly Slavonian race; and the kindred bands
“of Servians, Bosnians, Rascians, Croatians,
“Wallachians, &c. followed either the standard or
“the example of the leading tribe.”*

Schafarik, however, relies upon the “unques-
“tionable evidence of language” to prove that
the Bulgarians were originally different from
the Slavs.†

He describes the Bulgarians, the Avars, the
Huns and other tribes as *Bastardvölker* formed
by an intermingling of the Mongolian and

* Decline and Fall, chap. 55.

† Slavische Alterthümer, ii. 29. He says that many writers
have described the Bulgarians as originally Slavs, but incorrectly.
He combats the opinion with much learning, but it is unne-
cessary here to go through his reasons. I may mention, how-
ever, that he relies strongly on the old names of Bulgarian chiefs
and towns, as showing the difference of the language from
Slavonic, and says that there are still to be found amongst the
Slavonic races in Turkey words of Bulgarian origin, the roots of
which are unknown to the Slavs.

Finnish stocks with old Turkish blood.* He considers them as distinct from the Slavs, and says that they and other Uralian-Turkish tribes from the lower Volga and the Don pressed upon the Slavs and drove them to the west and south.† But he afterwards calls them Bulgarian Slavs when they had overrun Mœsia, and says that the Slavs there lost their proper name and received that of their conquerors, Bl'gare. The fact was that the two tribes coalesced like the Normans and Saxons in England, and formed ultimately one people. The change was, as might be expected, gradual, and the intermixture of the races was not complete until the ninth century, from which period we may treat the Bulgarians as part of the Slavonic nation.

But the name of the dominant race whose language has prevailed never superseded that

* *Slavische Alterthümer*, i. 5. In one of the oldest Sagas the name Bolgar appears as Borgar, *Ib.* i. 8.

† *Ibid.* ii. 6.

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of the people with whom they blended. That part of Turkey in Europe where the Bulgarians first settled has always been, and still is, called Bulgaria, although the pure Bulgarian element of the population has long ceased to exist. It may be likened to the case of Britain, which retains the name it bore before the Anglo-Saxons invaded the soil and the old Celtic race of Britons in England dwindled away, until at last they were found only in the mountains of Wales and recesses of Cornwall.

From the seventh to the tenth century the Bulgarians were firmly established as a powerful nation south of the Danube in what was the old Roman Province of *Mœsia Inferior*, once occupied by the *Getæ*, the earliest inhabitants of whom we have any record. According to *Suidas* their leader *Terbeles* imposed tribute upon two Greek Emperors, but in 811 *Nicephorus* invaded their territory. His camp was surprised by the Bulgarians, and the Emperor was slain. His

skull, enshafed with gold, was often used at their feasts; “but they were softened before the end
“of the fame century by a peaceful intercourse
“with the Greeks, the poffeffion of a cultivated
“region, and the introduction of the Chriftian
“worship.”* One of their moft diftinguifhed rulers in the early part of the ninth century was Simeon, a youth of the royal line, who had originally been a monk before he afcended the throne. He governed Bulgaria for more than forty years, and was repeatedly engaged in war with the Greek Empire. At one time he befieged Conftantinople, and dictated terms of peace to the Emperor. The rulers of Bulgaria were then gratified by the high founding title accorded to them of *Basileus*, King or Emperor, and for fome time peace prevailed. But at the end of the tenth century war again broke out, when the Bulgarians were conquered by *Bafil II.*, and fo merciless and terrible was the fllaughter

* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. 55.

that the Emperor acquired the title of "Slayer of the Bulgarians" (Βουλγαροκτόνος). "The Bulgarians were swept away from their settlements, and circumscribed within a narrow province; the surviving chiefs bequeathed to their children the advice of patience and the duty of revenge." *

For more than a century and a half they remained in a state of servitude to the Greek Empire until the reign of Isaac Angelus, when, provoked by injury and oppression, they rose in revolt in 1186, and under their leader Calo-John or Joannice recovered their independence. John sent an embassy to the Pope Innocent III., professing himself to be a son of the Latin Church, and he received from the Vatican the grant of a royal title, while at the same time a Latin Archbishop was sent into Bulgaria.

The Bulgarians seem to have oscillated for many years between the rival claims of the

* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. 55.

CONQUEST BY THE TURKS.

Greek and Latin Churches. They sent an Embassy to Rome in 866 and asked for Bishops and priests, and books and sacred vestments, and their request was complied with. But at the same time the Greek Patriarch tried hard to induce them to join the Greek Communion—and at the Council of Constantinople (869-870) four Bulgarian deputies appeared, and Bulgaria was declared to be under the Patriarchate.

I have mentioned that it recovered its independence at the latter end of the twelfth century, and this it maintained until the middle of the fourteenth, when it became subject to Hungary. But in 1392 the Turks wrested it from the Hungarians, and since then it has remained a Turkish province.

As such it has hardly a history, and it would be to little purpose to relate abortive attempts at insurrection. I will come to times of recent date. When the French Revolutionary War broke out, and the Ottoman Porte was engaged

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in hostilities with Russia and Austria, Bulgaria became the scene of much disturbance. Bands of Bulgarian volunteers enrolled themselves under the leadership of Omer Pashan, and attacked the Austrian posts in Servia, but having quarrelled with the Pacha of Widdin and being accused of blasphemy against the Koran, he was put to death by the executioner. His son of the same name escaped, and put himself at the head of free-lances, who were joined by deserters from the Janissaries, and he made himself master of Widdin. The Bulgarian Rayas were allowed to take up arms against Omer Pashan, and for ten years a sort of civil war raged in the province. In vain a Turkish army besieged Widdin, and when it retired Bulgaria became the prey of robber bands commanded by Omer Pashan, who ravaged the country in every direction, and entering Servia committed atrocious outrages against the Rayas there. They took Belgrade, and I have already told how the Janissary Dahis were

TREATY OF BUCHAREST, 1812.

routed and put to death in Servia. The remnant of Pafvan's followers, a scanty band, found their way back to Widdin in 1805. Pafvan however was so far successful, that he was recognised by the Porte as Vizier of Bulgaria, and after his death he was succeeded in the same office by his former secretary, who was known as Molla Pacha.

By the Treaty of Bucharest (May, 1812) Bessarabia was given to Russia, but Servia and Bulgaria were to remain under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Porte. Molla Pacha was deprived of his Viziership, and the government of Bulgaria was bestowed upon Hussein Pacha, who proved himself to be an oppressive and rapacious ruler of the unfortunate Rayas.

When the Russians entered Bulgaria in 1828 they were hailed as deliverers, and their victories over the Turks were celebrated by solemn chaunts in the Christian churches of the country. But the inhabitants would not take up arms, and

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join the Russians in active warfare. After peace was concluded by the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829, the Russians carried with them across the Danube great numbers of the Bulgarian Rayas who had been most deeply compromised in the struggle, and assigned them lands along the banks of the Dnieper. But the love of their native country was too strong, and gradually they all returned to Bulgaria.

A secret society was now formed in the neighbourhood of Ternov. The members met in the recesses of the forests, pretending to be engaged in religious fêtes, and in the graveyards of the convents swore on the tombs of their ancestors that they would die for their country. They were, however, betrayed, and many of their leaders arrested and put to death. In 1838 an insurrection broke out, and Jarnoï, which was garrisoned by the Turks, was attacked. The insurgents relied on help from Servia, but Milosch amused them with promises which led

CHARACTER OF PEOPLE.

to nothing. A few unimportant reforms in the social and municipal system, conceded by the Sultan, were the only fruits of the movement, and even these were soon practically set aside.

M. Cyprien Robert, in an interesting article on Bulgaria in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1842) begins by saying, "On the confines of Europe there vegetates, enflaved and unfortunate, a nation hardly known by name at the present day, and yet deserving all our interest. This nation is that of the Bulgarians; it has preserved in the hardest state of slavery its ancient manners, its lively faith, its noble character, and after having had a glorious past, it seems still called upon, by its geographical position, to play an important part in the future."

Bulgaria has been little explored by travellers, and a general opinion has prevailed that the inhabitants are coarse and churlish, as if they

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were part of the same people of whom Goldsmith says,—

“the rude Carinthian boor
Against the houseless stranger shuts the door.”

But nothing can be more untrue.

An English traveller, Dr. Walsh, says, “Of
“all the peasantry I have ever met with, the
“Bulgarians seem the most simple, kind and
“affectionate, forming a striking contrast with
“the rude and brutal Turks, who are mixed
“amongst them, but distinguished by the
“strongest traits of character. . . . The
“Bulgarians were distinguished by caps of brown
“sheepskin ; jackets of cloth made of the wool
“undyed of dark brown sheep, which their
“wives spin and weave ; white cloth trousers,
“and sandals of brown leather, drawn under the
“sole and laced with thongs under the instep ;
“and they carried neither pistol nor yatigan, nor
“any other weapon of offence ; but they were
“still more distinguished by their countenance

CHARACTER OF PEOPLE.

“and demeanour. The first is open, artless and
“benevolent; and the second is so kind and
“cordial that every one we met seemed to wel-
“come us as friends. . . . Turkish women
“we never saw; the Bulgarian women mixed
“freely with us in the domestic way, and treated
“us with the unsuspecting cordiality they would
“show to brothers. . . . Their villages
“generally consist of forty or fifty houses,
“scattered without order or regularity. Their
“houses are built of wicker-work plastered, and
“are clean and comfortable in the inside.” And
M. Cyprien Robert, who travelled much in the
country, says that all who know Bulgaria praise
with one voice the peaceful virtues of the in-
habitants. “They are industrious, persevering,
“and temperate, and although the most oppressed
“of all the subject races, misery has not debased
“them.” Their honesty is such that a Bul-
garian may be trusted with large sums of money
with perfect security. In intelligence they are

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rather flow, and want the quickness and vivacity of their Servian neighbours.

Bulgaria is one of the most fertile countries in Europe, and agriculture is the chief occupation. It is in fact one of the chief granaries of the Ottoman Empire. But the inhabitants manufacture rifle-barrels and coarse stuffs, and cultivate immense quantities of roses, from which they distil the famous *attar* of roses.

Each Bulgarian Commune has its Turkish Governor or *Spahi*, who is often an absentee, and makes use of a middleman to collect his dues and enforce his rights, such for instance as the *corvée* or three days' forced labour from each peasant every year.

Bulgaria had two capitals; Ternov, where its kings resided, and Sofia (originally Sardika), which seems to bear the same relation to Ternov that Moscow does to St. Petersburg. It is the sacred city of the Bulgarians, round which their traditions most fondly cling. It

is situated in the south-west, surrounded by almost inaccessible mountains, and, as the name implies, was once a city of the Greek Empire. But it has fallen into decay—its streets are almost deserted, and what was once a Christian Cathedral is now a Turkish Mosque.

Writing in 1842 M. Cyprien Robert says that when he travelled in Bulgaria, the Christian population concealed as much as possible their religious worship from the Turks, to escape outrage at their hands. In some places the churches were mere *crypts*, or miserable hovels—and no convent or church when falling into decay could be repaired without permission from the Divan, which could not be obtained without payment of an exorbitant sum. All the privileges from time to time accorded by the Porte had been lost, and the condition of the people depended upon the caprice of the Pachas. But the case was different with the population amongst the mountain ranges, for

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there the *haïdouks*, or brigands as they are called, were able to secure for themselves a sort of independence.* We must not, however, confound these with ordinary brigands. They take arms to defend themselves against the rapacity and outrages of the Turks—and of course are vilified by them under an opprobrious name.

* Le Monde Gréco-Slave. Revue des Deux Mondes, 1842.

VI.

TURKISH GOVERNMENT.



VI.

TURKISH GOVERNMENT.

THE whole of Turkey in Europe is divided into fifteen *Eyalets*, or *Vilayets*, as they are called in Western Europe, that is, Administrative Divisions; and these are subdivided into provinces, called *livas* or *sandjaks*. There is a further subdivision of the *sandjaks* into *cazas* or districts, and the *cazas* are again divided into *nahiyés*, composed of villages and hamlets.

The Principality of Servia, although practically independent, is still included by the Ottoman Porte in the vilayet of Roumelia; and the Khedive of Egypt also finds himself nominally in a vilayet. The vilayet of Bosnia comprises

also Herzegovina and Turkish Croatia. Bulgaria is in the vilayet of the Danube called Touna.

The Rayas or Raïahs (plural of *ra'yet*, a flock) are the non-Mussulman population of Turkey, including, therefore, all the Christians.

The male population of Turkey in Europe, according to the census of 1873, is 8,396,005, thus divided :—

Christians	4,701,357
Mussulmans	3,619,353
Jews	75,295
	<hr/>
	8,396,005

The usual form of municipal government is the following. There is a Turkish Governor of the district, who is called *mudir* or *kaimakan*, and he is generally an Osmanli Mussulman, who buys his office from the Sultan. He is assisted by a council of *medjlis*, who, with the exception of a single Christian Raya, or in some cases two, are all Mussulmans, and the *mudir's* court has exclusive criminal jurisdiction. The head or

representative of each Christian community is its chief elder, called in the Turkish language *kodgia bashi*, who acts as judge in civil cases, and is elected by the Christians themselves. The Rayas in general avoid the towns, where they are most exposed to Turkish insolence and aggression, and reside in the country and villages.

There are four principal taxes in Turkey, which I will now describe.

The first is the *ajhr*, a tax of one-tenth on all agricultural produce. It is the principal item of revenue, and produced in 1869 £5,641,245. The right of collecting this tax is sold to the highest bidder. The farmers of it buy each a whole *sandjak*, and sell their bargains in lots to others, who again sub-divide their lots to others, and on each of these sales a profit must of course be made. This system is called *iltizam*.

“ The profits made in this way by the higher
 “ contractors are known to be enormous, and
 “ have been the foundation of the largest for-

“tunes in Turkey. This traffic is generally
 “pursued by ‘*rayas*,’ or even foreign subjects,
 “but always requires for success the assistance
 “and connivance, often the secret participation,
 “of an influential Turk at head-quarters.” *
 The system has been denounced by all, or nearly
 all, competent authorities. “Whole districts
 “have thus been, and are now being, first im-
 “poverished and ultimately depopulated.” And
 to show how wasteful is the system to the public
 treasury, I may mention that in the *sandjak* of
 Rouftchouk, in Bulgaria, the tithes were sold in
 1869 for £270,000; but only realized to the
 Government £180,000, owing to the contractors
 being unable to pay the stipulated prices. It
 reminds one of the ruinous competition for land
 that used to prevail in Ireland, when farmers
 offered rents for leases which they were utterly

* Report on the Taxation of Turkey, by Mr. Barron, H.M. Secretary to the Embassy, presented to both Houses of Parliament, May, 1870.

unable to pay and make anything like a profit.
 “ As a tax the tithe itself is radically vicious in
 “ principle, and opposed to all sound economical
 “ doctrines, being levied on the gross, not on the
 “ net, produce of the soil, and taking no account
 “ of the relative cost of production.”

A modification has, however, been recently introduced in favour of the peasants. This consists in selling the tithes in every village separately, and thus permitting the “ Commune ” to declare itself the purchaser at the maximum price attained by the biddings. And every State functionary is prohibited, under penalties, from bidding for the tithes directly or indirectly.

Another tax is the *verghi*, raised on property and income; which is fixed beforehand at a certain amount for each province, and is then apportioned among the sandjaks and other subordinate divisions by the provincial authorities. The apportionment, however, is not annual, and
 “ the sub-allotment of the tax among individuals

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“is not governed by any law or fixed principle.”* In the village *medjlis*, or councils, it offers the widest scope for favoritism, for tyranny towards the weak, and truckling to the strong. “Everywhere the apportionment is arbitrary. In short, it may be said that this tax in no way affects the richer classes, the middle but slightly, and falls, so to speak, altogether on the poorest.”

A third tax is the *haratch*, which falls exclusively upon the non-Mussulman subjects of the Porte, in consideration of their exemption from military service. It is estimated to produce an annual sum of more than half a million. “It is not easy to learn what data the Government possesses for apportioning this impost among the *vilayets* and provinces.”

The remaining tax is the *saymé*, a tax origi-

* Report on the Taxation of Turkey, by Mr. Barron, H.M. Secretary to the Embassy, presented to both Houses of Parliament, May, 1870.

VAKOUF.

nally on sheep and goats, but afterwards extended to swine and cattle. It is a sort of equivalent impost on pasture lands for the tithe which is payable on arable land, and amounts to ten per cent. on the average value of the sheep.

One characteristic of land tenure in Turkey is the immense quantity of land which is held in *Vakouf*, that is, in a kind of mortmain, consecrated to religion, and belonging to mosques or holy places. In order to escape from the oppression of the tax-gatherer it is not uncommon for the Raya proprietor to make over his land in *Vakouf* to a mosque, under an implied trust, and to cultivate it himself as a farmer or labourer employed by the priests of the mosque.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the Christians are the only part of the population that is oppressed and miserable. Turkish misgovernment is uniform, and falls with a heavy hand upon all alike. In some parts of the kingdom the poverty of the Mussulmans may be

actually worse than the poverty of the Christians, and it is *their* condition which most excites the pity of the traveller. It is indeed an instructive fact that whenever a writer on Turkey fixes his attention on any particular part of the population, he describes it as the most miserable of all. M. Cyprien Robert says that the Christians in the East have, with a few noble exceptions, no greater enemies than their monks (*moines*), who profit by the oppression of the people, and share with the Turk the imposts laid upon the Rayas. "The first measure of regeneration would be the "reform of the clergy."*

But it is untrue to assert that the sufferings of the Mussulmans are anywhere equal to the sufferings of the Christians. Common sense tells us that where there is a fanatical dominant population inspired with hatred and contempt of a subservient race, the scales of justice and equity can never be held evenly between them. And to all the

* Le Monde Greco-Slave, Revue des Deux Mondes, 1862.

misery which the Muffulman has to endure from his own poverty and the rapacity of officials, is to be added in the case of the Christian the insolence and brutality of a governing class. Whatever may be the theory of equality laid down in Firmans, and Hats, and Iradés, and Hatti-Sheriffs, the Turk never has treated, and never will treat, the Giaour as an equal. I will mention an anecdote related by Miss Irby, by way of illustration of this. A Dervish met in the road near Serajevo (Bosna Serai), the capital of Bosnia, a Pravoslav priest on horseback. He ordered him to dismount, saying, "Bosnia is still a "Mahomedan country; do you not see that a "Turk is passing? Dismount instantly!" Three different times the Dervish met the same priest, and each time obliged him to get off his horse. If we wish to know how the pompous professions of the Sultan have been realised, we must gather information from the distant provinces of the Empire, and see what is the actual condition of

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the Rayas there. And very recently we have been furnished with authentic facts from Bulgaria, which show how grossly they are outraged. Christian women are violated, and Christian men are tortured by Turkish miscreants with impunity. I will cite two instances out of many which have recently appeared in Turkish newspapers—as told in a letter written from Eski-Zaghra.

At Sulmuchli “the Turks have broken into
“the houses of the Bulgarians, where they
“violated half a score of young girls and three
“young married women. They killed twelve
“Bulgarians and wounded eight; then, as they
“withdrew, they took away with them the corn,
“the lighter furniture, and all the portable property of the Christian inhabitants.

“In the village of Cafanka, three hours and a
“half distant from Eski-Zaghra, the rural guard,
“with two zaptiehs, or policemen, and other
“Turks, arrested fifteen Bulgarians, shut them

“up in a hut, and putting knives to their
“throats, extorted 46 Turkish lire (the lira is
“equal to 18s. 2d.).” *

It would be easy to multiply cases of Turkish outrage not only in Bulgaria but in Bosnia ; and in the latter province there is the peculiarity I have before alluded to, that the Mussulman population there, with the exception of a few officials, are not Osmanli Turks, but descendants of Christians who in former times apostatized from their faith, and who are distinguished by their rancour against the Rayas. Hence, says Professor A. Vambéry, in an article in a leading German Review:—“The genuine Turk is not so much
“hated by the Christians as the Slavonic Mus-
“fulman.” Nor ought we to forget that the poor Rayas suffer much from their co-religionists. If we may trust the testimony of eye-witnesses, they are fleeced by their Bishops and priests ;

* Quoted by the Special Correspondent of the *Times* in a letter dated Pera, Dec. 31, 1875.

and the Christians who sit amongst the Medjlis, or municipal councils, are generally worthless creatures, who cringe to their Turkish masters, and betray the cause of their Christian brethren. Altogether the picture of the state of the Rayas in the Slavonic provinces of Turkey is most deplorable, and I do not believe it ever can be effectually ameliorated until Turkish domination is put an end to.

Hitherto none but Mussulmans have been liable to conscription for military service. And this, of course, was not out of favour to the Christian Rayas, but from fear of admitting them into the ranks and accustoming them to the use of arms. They considerably outnumber the Mussulman population, and the Government knows too well that they have good cause for disaffection. We can hardly, therefore, blame a policy which has been dictated by an instinct of self-defence, and which is necessary so long as the oppression of a Government makes it unsafe

MILITARY SERVICE.

to trust the greater part of its subjects with arms.

As to the admission of Christian subjects of the Porte into the army, although it is true that the Hatti Humayoum of 1856 expressly declared that in future there should be no difference between Rayas and Mussulmans, and all alike should be liable to serve, it is equally true that “these clear provisions of the organic law have “been hitherto entirely ignored.” * Fuad Pacha explained this in 1866 by the alleged repugnance of the non-Mussulmans to enter the military service ; but he declared that it was the intention of the Government to carry out the measure, and, he said, “there exist, moreover, already in “the Ottoman army two regiments of mixed “Cossacks, composed of Mussulmans and Christians.” It is not, however, surprising that the Christians themselves are little covetous of

* Report on the Taxation of Turkey by Mr. Barron, H.M. Secretary to the Embassy.

the honour of being liable to conscription, and we are told, on authority, that the *Haratch* is probably the only tax which is paid with cheerful alacrity. And Mr. Barron, in his Report on the Taxation of Turkey, dwells on the “ misery entailed on the Mohammedans by the enormous burden of the conscription. This latter is the true cause of the decrease of the Mohammedan, and increase of the Christian population.” And, he adds, “ this is the monster evil which is gradually consuming the Turkish race.”

The evidence of Christians against Mussulmans is not admitted in the Kadi Courts, which take the Koran exclusively for their guide ; but in the modern courts, composed of Medjlis, it is admissible by law. “ But it is certain,” says Miss Irby, who has long resided in Bosnia, “ that in ordinary cases the evidence of twenty Christians would be outweighed by that of two Mussulmans.”

OPPRESSION.

It would be idle to insist upon the gross misgovernment of the Ottoman Porte. The testimony of every writer of every nation who has examined the subject, is uniform and decisive, and after reading what they say, one is tempted to exclaim, in the indignant language of the Roman orator, *Quousque tandem abutere patientiâ nostrâ?* How long is Christian Europe to endure the spectacle of an alien and infidel government oppressing Christian races?

“ Some writers erroneously attribute the decay
“ of agriculture to the religion or apathy of the
“ population; others to the want of roads, of
“ hands, of capital, or of practical knowledge.
“ These are all only secondary causes. The great
“ primary cause is want of security, in other
“ words, the defective organisation of Govern-
“ ment. A weak, needy, and unstable executive
“ is a necessary cause of incompetency, cupidity,
“ and corruption in the provincial authorities,
“ therefore of ruin to agriculture. Of all classes

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“ the farmer has most need of justice, security,
“ and encouragement. Yet here he has to bear
“ the whole brunt of taxation—a burden often
“ made doubly onerous by the iniquitous mode
“ of collection. Nothing is returned to him in
“ the shape of roads, police, or justice. His
“ produce is taxed over and over again without
“ pity.”*

In Bulgaria the peasant is not allowed to remove a sheaf from the ground before the *multizim* or farmer of the tithe has selected his portion; and in 1869 the harvest was left all over the *vilayet* rotting on the ground, devoured by birds and vermin.†

The Turk has never assimilated with any European people. There has been no chemical fusion, nothing more than mechanical contact. It is not only religion but race which keeps him apart, although in his religion alone we can

* Report by Mr. Barron, H.M. Secretary to Embassy, on the Taxation of Turkey.

† Ibid.

TURKEY IN THE OLDEN TIME.

see sufficient cause for his isolation. “From
“ this opposition,” says Ranke, “ of belief and
“ unbelief proceeds the whole political system of
“ the Turkish Empire. The two principles of
“ its foundation will always be antagonistic to
“ each other. No hope of forming a united
“ nation can consequently be entertained.”*

An old English traveller in the reign of
James I., in his “ Relation of a Journey begun
in 1610,” says of the state of Turkey then :
“ We may conclude that the Mahometan reli-
“ gion wherever it is planted, rooting
“ out all virtue, all wisdom and science, and in
“ sum all liberty and civility and laying the
“ earth to waste, dispeopled and uninhabited,
“ neither came from God (save as a scourge by
“ permission) nor can bring them to God that
“ follow it.”† I might cite a *catena* of authori-

* History of Servia, chap. 3.

† Sandys, Relation of a Journey begun A.D. 1610; containing
a Description of the Turkish Empire, &c.

ties all telling the same melancholy tale, but it is unnecessary, and I will content myself with quoting a passage from an able article in the *Edinburgh Review* of January 1854, which puts the case with brevity and force. “Habits
“ of toleration and decrees of equality are a dead
“ letter beyond the diameter of the capital; and
“ we venture to affirm that more acts of cruelty
“ and extortion are still perpetrated in the
“ Turkish Empire than in all those countries of
“ Europe which habitually inspire us with the
“ strongest commiseration.” Even Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, whom no one can accuse of being unfriendly to the Ottoman Porte, has admitted in a letter to the *Times* (January 3, 1876), “that Turkey is weak, fanatical, and
“ misgoverned, no one can honestly deny.”

Lord Palmerston indeed said in the House of Commons in 1853, “I assert without fear of
“ contradiction that Turkey, so far from having
“ gone back within the last thirty years, has

“made greater progress and improvement, in
“every possible way, than perhaps was ever
“made by any other country in the same
“period.” No doubt Lord Palmerston was
sincere in his belief, but he mistook profession
for practice, and trusted to nominal reforms as if
they were equivalent to real improvement. It
would have puzzled him to make good the
assertion if its veracity had been tested by the
actual condition of the people, although he did
specify “the administration of justice, the
“condition of agriculture, manufactures and
“commerce, and religious toleration.” Black
indeed as midnight must have been the former
condition of Turkey, if an English statesman
could hail the faintest twilight as if it were actual
sunshine.

In the same debate Mr. Cobden said that the
Turks in Europe were considered as intruders ;
that their home was Asia ; and the progress of
events had demonstrated that a Mahomedan

Power could not be maintained in Europe. If he were a Raya subject of the Porte he should say, "Give me any Christian government rather than a Mahommedan." And surely events have shown that Mr. Cobden took a juster view of the question than Lord Palmerston.

What proof is there of even physical improvement in the country? There are roads and roads. But as to the roads in Turkey, a chapter on them might be as short as the famous one in Hans Troil's History of Iceland, which is headed "On the Snakes in Iceland;" and the whole chapter consists of the words "There are no snakes in Iceland." So there are really "no roads in Turkey," at least none worthy of the name. When I was at Constantinople in 1869, a new one had been constructed by an English engineer from Buyukdere on the Bosphorus to the Sultan's Kiosk in the forest of Belgrade, a distance of seven or eight miles. He was urged by the Turkish Government to make the road

CORRUPTION.

with the utmost possible speed, as there was an idea that the Empress of the French, whose visit was approaching, might possibly wish to see the Kiosk. I was asked by the engineer to accompany him and try the road, but the weather had been wet, and when we reached it, it was in an impassable state of mud. Even between Constantinople and Adrianople, where the country is a long, wide, undulating plain and the soil clay, the so-called high road is nothing but a rough track, and a single day's rain converts it into flush and mud. And as to the streets of Constantinople itself they look as if cart-loads of stones had been dropped from the sky, with deep ruts and holes in them, which no one takes the trouble to fill up.

Corruption has eaten into the heart's core of the Turkish Government. It was said of the fall of the Roman Republic, *Nullâ aliâ re magis Romana Respublica periit, quam quod magistratûs officia venalia essent*. In Turkey the sale

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of public offices is the constant practice, and *viziers* and *pachas* who have bought their posts go to the distant provinces, and practise every kind of extortion during the short and precarious period of their sway.

It used to be said that at all events the Turks were honest and adhered faithfully to their engagements. But what do the bondholders in England and in France think of this now? The Government has repudiated half of the interest of its public debt, and the country is in a state of financial bankruptcy, the natural consequence of corruption and waste.

But at last, in the face of a formidable insurrection, and to satisfy the demands of indignant Europe, we are promised a reformation. Old abuses are to be swept away, and the halcyon reign of equality and justice is to commence in Turkey. The Sultan has issued a Firman which breathes the loftiest sentiments of benevolence and good-will to all his subjects, and we are

asked to believe that abuses will be swept away and an era of regeneration will begin. But who really believes this? At all events the Firman or *Iradé* is itself a proof of the existence of the evils which it promises to redress.

It begins with a high-sounding declaration of the duty of civilized States to guarantee public rights, and announces the truism that individual interests are only assured by the good order and prosperity of the country generally. Nothing can be better than the principles it sets forth with respect to the administration of justice, and the necessity of separating the judicial from the executive office. The judges are to be irremovable *sans cause légitime*, and their election, whether Mussulmans or non-Mussulmans, is to be in the hands of the people. Some just regulations are made as to taxation, and inequalities are removed. Forced labour is to be abolished. “All
“ classes of our subjects who live under the shadow
“ of our Imperial protection are in our eyes and

“in the sentiments of justice on the footing of
“complete equality.” The public employ-
ments and offices are to be open to all, whether
Mussulmans or not. No Raya is to be liable
to a tax for exemption from military service
except between the ages of twenty and forty
years. “The greatness, the glory, and the
“security of the State can only be maintained
“by the integrity and justice of the execu-
“tive power, by the obedience of all to the law,
“and by the rigorous observation on the part
“of the high and low of the rights of every-
“one.”

But have we not heard all this before? If
we refer to the Treaty of Belgrade in 1739
and the Treaty of Sistova in 1791, between
Austria and the Porte, we find the most express
stipulations in favour of the Christian subjects of
the Sultan: “et qu’il ne soit permis à personne,
“contre les susdites capitulations et loix, de
“molester ou par insulte ou par exaction d’argent

“les dits Religieux et autres, de quelque ordre
 “et condition qu’ils soient.”* I need not dwell
 on the famous *Tanzimat* which was to have
 reformed all Turkey, and which has been con-
 fessedly a failure. I will speak of what is less
 known. In the Hatti-Sheriff or Humaion
 of Gulhane issued by the Sultan in Nov. 1839,
 he begins by admitting that “a succession of
 “accidents and divers causes” had brought
 about a disregard for the laws, “and the former
 “strength and prosperity have changed into
 “weakness and poverty”—and declares his
 resolve by new institutions to give to the
 Provinces composing the Ottoman Empire the
 benefit of a good administration. I need not
 particularize all the specious promises here made.
 It will be enough to state that one of them is in
 this comprehensive form. “These Imperial con-
 “cessions shall extend to all our subjects, of
 “whatever religion or sect they may be; they

* Wenck, *Codex Juris Gentium*, vol. i. p. 316 *et seq.*

“ shall enjoy them without exception. We there-
 “ fore grant perfect security to the inhabitants
 “ of our Empire, in their lives, their honour,
 “ and their fortunes, as they are secured to
 “ them by the sacred text of our law.”

Again, if we compare the present Hatti-Sheriff or Firman with the Hatti-Sheriff issued by the Sultan in 1856 at the close of the Crimean war, under the pressure of the Great Powers, we shall find the professions and promises of the two documents almost identical. Then the guarantees promised by the Sultan by the Hatti-Humaîon of Gulhané and the Tanzimaut to all the subjects of the Empire “ without distinction of classes or religion ” were confirmed and consolidated. Then, as now, all the privileges and spiritual immunities granted *ab antiquo* and at subsequent dates, to all Christian communities or other non-Mussulman persuasions established in the Empire were confirmed and maintained. There was to be perfect

toleration of all religions. The administration of justice was to be purified and reformed. Christians were to be admitted into the army, Taxes were to be levied impartially, without distinction of class or religion. All the subjects of the Empire were to be admissible to public employments without distinction of nationality. The laws against corruption and extortion were to be enforced, and steps were to be taken for the formation of roads and canals.

But it is unnecessary to go at length through the catalogue of promised reforms. The late Firman is almost a copy of its predecessors, with a few additions and modifications. But how have the promises been kept? The insurrection in the Herzegovina is a sufficient answer. The very fact of the necessity of this new Bill of Rights is in itself a confession that the Turkish Government, even if it has "kept the word of promise to the ear," has "broken it to the hope." In other words that past promises

have been nothing but a mockery, a delusion, and a snare.

But the difficulty of the situation is very great, and we can hardly be surprised that Statesmen responsible for the peace of Europe are obliged to speak and act with the utmost caution and reserve.

The jealousy of the Great Powers, especially of Austria and Russia, will never allow any of them to seize the falling sceptre of the Turkish Sultan. In a Convention between Austria and the Sublime Porte, which was signed in June 1854, at the outbreak of the Crimean war, the Emperor of Austria declared that he fully recognised “that the existence of the Ottoman Empire within its present limits is necessary for
“the maintenance of the balance of power
“between the States of Europe;” and the Convention between Great Britain and France in the month of April the same year, stated that “the High Contracting Parties being ani-

“mated with a desire to maintain the balance
“of power in Europe,” renounced beforehand
the acquisition of any advantage for themselves
from the events which might occur.

England, of course, with India to guard,
could never consent that the House of Romanoff
should sit on the throne of Constantinople;
and although she might see no danger to her-
self if it was occupied by the House of Haps-
burg, Russia is little likely to allow such a
splendid prize to fall into the hands of Austria.
French or German occupation is altogether out
of the question, and the situation, therefore, of
the succession to the dominion of the Ottoman
Porte, supposing that dominion to come to an
end, may be described as something like a
political dead-lock.

But it is needless to speculate on the conse-
quences of an event which is not likely to
happen, or is only amongst the possibilities of a
remote future. The Turks will not quit Europe

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unless they are driven out of Europe, and this could only be at the cost of a war which would set Europe in a blaze, and the result of which the most farfighted statesman can neither prophesy nor conjecture. Nor ought we to lay out of sight the terrible misery which such a war would entail upon the population with which we sympathize, and whose sufferings we wish to relieve.

But although it is hopeless to expect that the Osmanli Turks will cross the Bosphorus and exchange Constantinople for Brussa or some other city in Asia Minor as their capital, it is by no means chimerical to cherish the hope that they may be compelled, either by force or from policy, to quit their hold of some of their outlying provinces, and content themselves with a much more circumscribed area.

The Crimea, Greece, Bessarabia, Moldo-Wallachia, Servia, Egypt, have all one after another been torn from their grasp, although to

some of them they still make the idle pretence of titular sovereignty. For the Slavonic population south of the Danube and the Save there is a Christian State already established, which would seem to be the natural nucleus round which it should aggregate. I mean the Principality of Servia. Moldavia and Wallachia were not long ago as distinct as Servia and Bosnia, or Servia and Bulgaria, but they are now blended together as one independent State—Roumania.

No doubt there are difficulties as regards the Mussulman population in Bosnia, who have been styled by the Turks in former times, “the lion that guarded Stamboul.” Some of the Bosnian Begs are said to be fanatically jealous of Christian Servia; but all of them hate the Osmanli Turks, and since the outbreak of insurrection in Herzegovina, the Mussulmans of the Redif, or reserve force, have in many places refused to serve in the army. And Bulgaria also has a large Mussulman element. But if the Christian Rayas,

who, in both provinces, greatly exceed the Mussulmans in number, have been able to live for centuries under Turkish rule, there seems no reason why the Mussulmans should not live under Christian rule. I have already mentioned that some writers are of opinion that the great bulk of the Bosnian Mussulmans, whose forefathers were Christians, would not feel much difficulty in returning to their ancestral faith; but this I myself do not believe. They would, however, appreciate the blessings of good government, and would thankfully see themselves freed from the oppression and extortion of Pachas sent from Constantinople to squeeze a fortune out of the people, whether Mussulmans or Christians.

Turkey, in fact, is in this position: If left to herself she will perish, not slowly, but rapidly from internal decay. If propped up by foreign influence, and held in a state of tutelage, she will lose—indeed she has already lost—all real sense of independence, and her subjects will cease to

WHY NOT AN AUTONOMY?

respect a Government kept in leading-strings by strangers and aliens. And after all, what can we expect from meddling and interference? We may advise, we may lecture as we will, but

“Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque recurret.”

The Sultan and his Ministers at Constantinople may make what promises they please, but what effect will these have upon the obscure sufferings of the poor Rayas in Bosnia and Bulgaria? The experience of centuries has shown that the Osmanli Turks are not fit to govern Christian communities, and the sooner the Great Powers can agree together to emancipate them even by force, without a convulsion which would open the door to Russian ambition, the better will it be for millions of the human race. Why should not there be guaranteed to Bosnia and Bulgaria an autonomy like that which has already been granted to Servia and Roumania? If the Great Powers could agree in this, the Sultan would

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have no alternative but to grant it, for the Ottoman Porte could not cope with any one of them in arms, and must perforce yield to their collective demand. At all events Herzegovina, which is separated from Bosnia proper by a barrier of mountains, might be given to Montenegro. The sympathies of the inhabitants of both countries are in unison ; they are both Christian ; they both seem designed by Nature to form one territory ; and so long as Herzegovina belongs to Turkey, discontent will lead to insurrection, and all the diplomacy of Europe will not prevent the Montenegrins from secretly assisting her attempts to throw off the burden of the Turkish yoke.

This may be called a dismemberment of the Empire ; and so it is. But I believe that it would be better for even Turkey herself to quit her hold of the Danubian Provinces, and confine herself to Roumelia and Albania. The road to Constantinople is as open through Servia as

DECAY OF OSMANLI POPULATION.

through Bosnia, and Servia she has already lost. She would have the Balkan for her northern frontier, and as regards Roumelia, the population consists chiefly of Osmanli Turks, with whose internal condition we need not concern ourselves. And for them this limited area would be sufficient. They are decreasing in numbers from physical and social causes, which it is unnecessary to particularize, and every writer on Turkey attests the gradual decay of the Osmanli population.

Nobody pretends that the possession of Bosnia and Bulgaria would enable the Ottoman Porte, unaided, to resist an invasion by either Russia or Austria, and therefore as against foreign aggression, those provinces are practically worthless. And in the meantime they are, or at all events Bosnia is, a source of weakness, as a discontented and suffering population must always be.

Lord Chatham once exclaimed in the House of Lords, "I rejoice that America has resisted!"

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And there are few Englishmen who would not each say in his heart, "I rejoice that Herzegovina has resisted!" It is impossible not to feel the warmest sympathy with the efforts of a long down-trodden people to free themselves from the yoke of oppression; and if they succeed in the struggle, all Christendom will hail their deliverance with joy. But they have to fight against fearful odds, when the whole military strength of the Ottoman Empire is employed to crush them. It is difficult to believe that if left to themselves they will be able to resist the overwhelming force that can be brought against them. Any active assistance given by Montenegro or Servia would probably be stopped by the action of the Great Powers, who are not likely to allow those States to interfere in a quarrel between the Porte and its subjects, from which they themselves, so far as military action is concerned, stand aloof. And as to interference in any shape by those Powers who were signa-

taries to the Treaty of Paris in 1856 to which the Sultan was a party, it may be a question whether it is not an actual breach of one of the express stipulations of that Treaty; for, after acknowledging "the high value of the communication" of the Firman which the Sultan had just issued for ameliorating the condition of his subjects "without distinction of religion or of race," the Treaty goes on to say, "It is clearly understood that it cannot *in any case* give to the said Powers the right to interfere, either collectively or separately, in the relations of His Majesty the Sultan with his subjects, nor in the internal administration of his Empire." It may, however, be answered that *necessitas non habet legem*—and when all agree to interfere, the necessity seems proved.

But whatever course Governments may take, one thing is clear. Individuals have no right to promote or foster civil war in the territories of a Power with whom their own country is at

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peace. They may sympathise with the insurgents, but they cannot, without violating the rules of international law, and without a breach of their own municipal law, render them active assistance. To combine together for the purpose of contributing funds in aid of a revolt in a foreign kingdom with which we are not at war, is a punishable misdemeanor at common law; and I would recommend to the serious attention of those who wish to subscribe money to help the insurgents in Herzegovina the weighty words of Lord Lyndhurst, who said in the House of Lords on the 4th of March, 1853,—

“ If a number of British subjects were to
“ combine and conspire together to excite revolt
“ among the inhabitants of a friendly State—of
“ a State united in alliance with us—and these
“ persons, in pursuance of that conspiracy, were
“ to issue manifestoes and proclamations for the
“ purpose of carrying that object into effect;
“ above all, *if they were to subscribe money for*

OPINION OF LORD LYNDHURST.

“ *the purpose of purchasing arms* to give effect to
“ that intended enterprize, I conceive, and I state
“ with confidence, that each person would be
“ guilty of a misdemeanor, and liable to suffer
“ punishment by the laws of this country, inas-
“ much as their conduct would tend to embroil
“ the two countries together, to lead to remon-
“ strances by the one with the other, and ulti-
“ mately, it might be, to war. . . . The offence
“ of endeavouring to excite revolt among the
“ subjects of a neighbouring State, is an offence
“ against the Law of Nations. No writer on
“ the Law of Nations states otherwise. But
“ the Law of Nations, according to the decisions
“ of our greatest Judges, is part of the law of
“ England.”

It may seem cold and ungenerous to be ready with our sympathy, but refuse all active aid to a people struggling to be free. But our duty as citizens is clear. So long as England is at peace with Turkey—no subject of the Queen is justified

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in afflicting, by arms or money, a revolt against the sovereign authority of the Ottoman Porte. So long as her Empire is tolerated in Europe and she exists as an independent State with which we have treaties and diplomatic intercourse, we cannot release ourselves from the duties imposed upon us by the *jus gentium* and the law of our own country. For although, to quote the words of a great authority on the Law of Nations—Wheaton: “the relations which
“have prevailed between the Ottoman Empire
“and the other European States, have only
“recently brought the former within the pale
“of that public law by which the latter are
“governed,”—yet as she has been so brought within the pale, she must be treated accordingly. But the rule of conduct due from individuals in this case need not be the rule of Governments, and as they have before interfered to save Turkey from the aggression of the Pacha of Egypt, they might (unless positive treaty pre-

GUARANTEE OF NEUTRALITY.

vents them) interfere to save the Christian provinces of Turkey from oppression and misrule. And this might be done, if not on the high ground of humanity, which is perhaps a dangerous plea for armed intervention, yet on the ground of self-defence. For

. . . *tua res agitur cum proximus ardet*
Ucalegon.

And neither Russia nor Austria can consider the course which a Slavonic insurrection may take as one in which they have not the deepest concern. Happily, the state of public opinion in Europe is now generally favourable to some kind of intervention, and we may hope that it will be of such a kind as will be effectual to put a stop to the gross and crying abuses of which the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey have been the theatre. But if that fails—and I confess I have not much faith in its success, for past experience almost forbids hope—then we may further hope that the more decisive step will be taken of

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freeing altogether those Provinces from the grasp of the Ottoman Porte, and placing them, like Belgium, under a collective guarantee of neutrality. Such a policy might, perhaps, be the best even now, for such, I believe, must ultimately be the result. And it will be the happiest result. For few will be disposed to agree with the opinion of the late Fuad Pacha in his Political Testament, addressed from his dying bed to the Sultan, and expressing the Turkish point of view. "But a Montenegro, a principality of
" Servia, a kingdom of Armenia, without con-
" ferring the slightest advantage either upon
" themselves or the world, can never be anything
" further than states more or less chimerical,
" wretched fragments of former convulsions of
" humanity, inevitably a prey to any new con-
" queror, prejudicial to the progress of mankind,
" and dangerous for the peace of the world." *

* Quoted by Farley, *Decline of Turkey*. London: 1875. A remarkable pamphlet, well worth studying.

CONCLUSION.

There is far more danger in keeping discontented Provinces to fester in the midst of a decaying State, and the progress of mankind is best secured by the possession of free institutions.

I will conclude with the words spoken by the present Foreign Secretary not twelve years ago, in which I heartily agree :—

“ I believe the question of the breaking up of
“ the Turkish Empire to be only a question of
“ time, and probably not a very long time.
“ The Turks have played their part in history ;
“ they have had their day, and that day is over ;
“ and I do not understand, except it be from the
“ influence of old diplomatic traditions, the
“ determination of our older statesmen to stand
“ by the Turkish rule, whether right or wrong.
“ *I think we are making for ourselves enemies of*
“ *races, which will very soon become, in Eastern*
“ *Europe, dominant races ;* and I think we are
“ keeping back countries by whose improve-
“ ment we, as the great traders of the world,

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“ should be the great gainers, and that we are
“ doing this for no earthly advantage, either
“ present or prospective.”*

* Lord Stanley's speech at King's Lynn, October, 1864.

THE END.

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